NOTICE

In the 10 May Middle East and Africa DAILY REPORT, the Middle East and South Asia review, the table of contents, and subsequent pages should be dated 10 May instead of 9 May.

FBIS DAILY REPORT

MIDDLE EAST & SOUTH ASIA REVIEW

11 MAY 1983

Lebanon

Syrian Position — Although Israel intends to launch a "limited war" against Syria, the latter will not allow this method to dictate its strategy, and "any aggression by Israel means unlimited war," Damascus radio announced in a 10 May commentary. Claiming that Israel will use the draft agreement with Lebanon as a pretext to attack Syria with U.S. support, the radio criticized Arab states that portray Syria's "principled stand" as "intransigence." TISHRIN subsequently warned of the "tremendous dangers" entailed by signing the draft agreement, the radio reported in its 11 May press review. Earlier, Information Minister Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad described as "utter nonsense" a Lebanese radio report that Syria has raised three conditions for supporting the Lebanese-Israeli draft agreement, according to Radio Monte Carlo. The denial followed Voice of Lebanon radio's assertion that the Syrians are demanding legitimacy for their troops in Lebanon as deterrent forces, Arab financial support for these forces, and a Syrian-Lebanese security agreement. Meanwhile, President Hafiz al-Asad met with Lebanese Amal Movement leaders and Syria's AL-BA'TH published an interview with Progressive Socialist Party leader Walid Junblatt, who voiced support for the Syrian stand against the draft agreement, Radio Monte Carlo noted.

In another development KUNA reported that a "senior Syrian official" informed the Ash-Shariqah paper AL-KHALIJ that the Soviet Union has supplied Syria with "extremely sophisticated" military equipment that "cannot be affected by Israeli and American technology." While the Soviet Union has granted Syria "huge financial facilities," Syria is paying for the new arms with its own products, the official disclosed. According to another AL-KHALIJ report, Syria has instructed its forces to respond immediately to any Israeli "provocation."

Israeli Position — If the Syrians do not assent to the Israeli-Lebanese agreement, Israel will propose deploying the multinational force between the IDF and Syrian lines after IDF forces withdraw to the Al-Awwali River, MA'ARIV reported. The Knesset will debate the draft agreement on 16 May, according to Jerusalem radio.

Lebanese Position, Contacts — The Lebanese parliament will not discuss the draft agreement at its 12 May session and the final form of the agreement is still subject to "give and take" between Lebanon and Israel, Beirut radio announced on 11 May. The radio said Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan may visit Damascus this week for consultations on the draft. Earlier, the Jordanian foreign minister conveyed a message from King Husayn to President Amin al-Jumayyil, Amman radio reported.

Soviet Ambassador's Remarks — After reviewing the Lebanese-Israeli draft agreement with President al-Jumayyil, Soviet Ambassador to Lebanon Aleksandr Soldatov affirmed that the evacuation of Soviet nationals from Lebanon "has no political significance" and has been "misunderstood and misinterpreted," according to remarks reported and broadcast by Beirut radio. Voice of Lebanon radio reported that more Soviet personnel would leave Beirut on 11 May.

Military Situation — Syrian forces shelled Israeli positions in the Al-Biqa' valley and Syrian antiaircraft gunners also fired at an Israeli reconnaissance plane overflying the area, Beirut radio reported. However, Jerusalem radio subsequently cited the IDF spokesman as denying reports of an IDF-Syrian artillery duel. Monitored Syrian media did not mention any Syrian-IDF incidents in Lebanon. Earlier, Israeli sources cited by Jerusalem radio confirmed that the PLO recently reinforced its military contingent in Lebanon.

Jordan

An organization calling itself the "Military and Revolutionary Committee of Jordan" claimed responsibility for the 9 May attacks against American offices in Amman, according to AFP. The group called the bombings its "first revolutionary answer" to the "conspiracies of the United States and an answer to Shultz' imperialistic plans."

Libya

Students in Misratah municipality staged an angry demonstration protesting the "base act" of a Palestinian agent charged with plotting to assassinate Libyan leader Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, Tripoli Voice of Greater Arab Homeland radio reported.

Earlier, the 30 April edition of the weekly AZ-ZAHAF AL-AKHDAR warned "those who would change the course of developments" in Libya that they should realize matters are not proceeding as they would like. Noting the "surprising" reappearance of some "worthless election brokers" seeking to influence the decisions of the basic people's congresses through "backstage manipulations" of their general secretariats, the paper reminded the secretariats that their sole purpose is to draft the decisions taken by the people and then deliver them to the General People's Congress "and nothing more." The general secretariats "have no right to exceed these duties," it added.

Iran-Iraq Conflict

During the GCC foreign ministers' extraordinary meeting in Manama an agreement was reached to intensify contacts in order to formulate a Gulf plan to stop the Iran-Iraq war, the Kuwaiti daily AL-WATAN reported according to QNA. The Gulf plan will be drawn up on the basis of these contacts and in light of letters exchanged by the amir of Kuwait and leaders of the UN Security Council permanent member-states in addition to contacts with Iran and Iraq, the report said quoting unidentified informed sources.

Iran

More than 1,000 members of the 10,000-strong Tudeh Party have been arrested, Revolution Guards Commander Mohsen Reza'i said at a press conference reported by Tehran radio. Calling on party members still in hiding to give themselves up, he said that none of the leaders of the now dissolved party was able to escape. According to an AFP report on the press conference, Reza'i said the party leaders have by their confessions "signed their own death warrants," but he added that Iran is not in a hurry to execute them because they still have much to confess.

Afghanistan

Social Democrats Arrested — Members of the "central nucleus" of the Afghan Social Democratic Party have been arrested, Kabul radio reported citing a spokesman for the security forces. The spokesman said the arrested leaders confessed to "counter-revolutionary activities" and links with U.S. and British intelligence officers in Pakistan.

Military Situation — Afghan insurgents gained control over an important strategic post manned by Soviet and Afghan Government forces in Nimruz Province killing five Soviet soldiers, Tehran radio's Arabic service reported on 9 May. Subsequently, Tehran radio reported that Soviet and Afghan forces carried out a series of "unprecedented" attacks and bombings in Herat and near Kabul over a 2-week period killing thousands of civilians. Earlier, insurgent leaders in Islamabad announced they would soon shift their headquarters from Peshawar in Pakistan to the interior of Afghanistan, AFP reported. Denying that the decision was the result of any outside pressure, the resistance leaders said the move would boost the morale and combat ability of their forces.

Pakistani President on Soviet Position — President Ziaul Haq declared in a London ITN television interview that the Soviet Union has been discussing a program for the withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan in the indirect Geneva talks with Pakistan. The Soviet Union is willing to consider withdrawal, but wants guarantees against future interference and intervention in Afghanistan and also assurances that a withdrawal of forces will not leave its "soft underbelly" protected, Ziaul Haq revealed.

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'Arafat: PLO, Syria Agree on Military Plans

LD101948 Kuwait KUNA in English 1809 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Tunis, May 10 (KUNA) — PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat was quoted Tuesday as saying that during his recent talks with Syria's President Hafiz al-Asad in Damascus they agreed on military coordination between the Palestinian revolutionary forces and the Syrian Armed Forces. 'Arafat was further quoted as describing the coordination agreement as an important positive step during the present fierce imperialist attack on the Arab nation.

The chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization and leader of the mainstream Palestinian commando organization "Fatah" returned here early today from Damascus where he held the first talks with President al-Asad since the Palestinian commandos pulled out of West Beirut last August.

The official PLO spokesman, who prefered to remain anonymous, said 'Arafat gave this statement to a number of Fatah leaders he met with after returning from Damascus today via Saudi Arabia.

According to the source, 'Arafat "views his agreement with President (Hafiz) al-Asad on implementation of military coordination between the Palestinian and Syrian forces as the positive step of paramount importance during the present circumstances in which the Arab nation is witnessing a fierce American-Israeli conspiracy aimed at destruction of our people and their civilization and reducing us to degraded followers of the United States and the Zionist entity rulers."

Although the well-placed source quoted 'Arafat as admitting the presence of unresolved "issues" between the PLO and the Syrian Government, the PLO leader was said to have expressed confidence "in the probability of resolving all these issues during a short time."

'Arafat is expected to return to Damascus within a few days to resume talks with the Syrian leaders on the outstanding issues.

'Arafat Arrives in Tunis; To Meet W. Bank Mayors

GF101712 San'a' Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1600 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] PLO Executive Committee Chairman Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] arrived today in Tunis from Damascus. Brother Abu 'Ammar is scheduled to meet with Fahd al-Qawasimi, the mayor of Hebron, and Muhammad Milhim, the mayor of Halhul, later today. The two mayors are expected to arrive in Tunis today.

Damascus Cites Habash's Statement to TISHRIN

JN061954 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1515 GMT 6 May 83

[Text] Moscow — PFLP Secretary General George Habash has praised the existing strategic relations between Syria and the Palestinian revolution. In a statement to the newspaper TISHRIN in Moscow, he asserted that Syria remains the Arab country that will put an end to aggression and Arab collapse in this difficult time.

Concerning Israeli threats and military concentrations in preparation for launching an aggression against Syria, he said: The Israeli military concentrations came as a result of imperialist and Zionist disappointment following the failure of political pressures. It is also a military alternative from the U.S. viewpoint to end Arab resistance represented by the Syrian-Palestinian stand on the expansionist U.S.-Zionist plans in the region.

Habash added: Syria fully understands the situation which has resulted from the Zionist aggression and Syria has clearly defined its course. Syria, he said, rejected the U.S. course, which the invaders had planned. He also said that Syria's stand is an example of a principled and firm stand and that Syria is determined to confront U.S. imperialist-Zionist designs which are aimed at imposing capitulation on the Arabs. Therefore, it is natural that imperialism and Zionism will assume a new role in plotting against Syria and the Palestinian revolution.

He also outlined the goals of the Zionist invasion of Lebanon. He said that the main goal of the invasion was to destroy the Palestinian revolution and to draw Lebanon into the Camp David accords. He also praised the Soviet support for Syria's struggle and the Palestinian revolution in the face of the Zionist and imperialist aggression.

Habash also referred to the failure of Reagan's initiative and said: I do not believe that the PLO can accept such capitulatory plans because the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied Arab territories refuse capitulation and insist on continuing the struggle to realize their goals.

PLO Radio on U.S. View Toward Agreement, PLO

JN101851 Baghdad Voice of PLO in Arabic 1627 GMT 10 May 83

[Station commentary]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Shultz has declared that the U.S. Administration will continue to give momentum to the peace process in the Middle East, to particularly to seeking a solution in Lebanon and to guaranteeing that country's sovereignty, unity, and indpendence.

We do not know if the U.S. secretary of state was basing the second part of his statement on secret information, but we are certain that what Shultz tried to present as a U.S. achievement and victory was far less than it appeared. The picture to which President Reagan proudly pointed was very distorted and only covered the narrow angle of tackling the complications in the Lebanese situation.

As is the custom of the Americans, Shultz discussed what was satisfactory to Israel, and arranged his declaration of agreement on Israeli conditions. From this narrow angle also, the U.S.

secretary of state proceeded to convince the other concerned parties that an agreement on such a basis was the best that could be achieved.

Was the Lebanese Government convinced by the agreement? It is obvious that there are reservations in Beirut over the way the enemy government announced its acceptance of the Shultz draft agreement, but one can expect the Lebanese Government, under pressure by the United States, Israel, and internal complications, to make more concessions. Through the effect of this pressure also, Shultz and Reagan can pride themselves on having reached an agreement, and Israel can ask for more concessions through what it terms clarifications on security and other matters. Still, the fact remains that the basis of what was adopted by Shultz was the satisfaction of Israel.

But pressure on the Beirut government is not enough to convince the others who are affected by the agreement. This, of course, is not interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon. Even if the Shultz agreement meets Lebanese demands, what happens between the Zionist entity and any other Arab side remains the concern of all the Arabs and those who are linked with the conflict which essentially began with the establishment of the Zionist entity. Therefore, the concerned parties will continue to have the right, even more than the United States, to consider the effect of a major development such as the Lebanese-Israeli agreement on their interests, security, and envisionment of the future of the region. Unless Washington bears in mind all these local, pan-Arab, and international considerations, what it claims is a major achievement will remain mere ink on paper and a very temporary propaganda trial balloon.

If this was what the U.S. secretary of state wanted from his tour of the region, then he certainly achieved it, but if the United States is really serious about achieving solutions in Lebanon and the Middle East, then it must go back to the root of the problem — the Palestine question. Washington must know in this respect that President Reagan or anyone else cannot just disregard the PLO. This organization is the cause and the root. The PLO will remain the important factor in the equation whether President Reagan likes it or not.

SANA Reports Al-Fahum Statements in Bucharest

JN092008 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1925 GMT 9 May 83

[Text] Bucharest, 9 May (SANA) — PNC Speaker Khalid al-Fahum has affirmed that Shultz' plan and proposals harm Lebanon's sovereignty, independence, and unity. In a meeting here today with representatives of the Romanian press and other media, Al-Fahum explained that there were many conditions that harm Lebanon's independence, such as giving Israel the right to follow up and participate in Lebanese-U.S. committees in Lebanon and the right to build early warning bases on Lebanese territory.

He affirmed that the PLO cannot possibly accept any agreement which harms Lebanese sovereignty.

The Palestinian news agency, WAFA, quoted Al-Fahum as saying: We do not interfere in the internal affairs of Lebanon or any Arab country, and we are confident that Lebanese public opinion will not agree to anything that might jeopardize Lebanese national independence.

Al-Fahum is currently on a 5-day visit to Romania and has held talks with Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and senior Romanian officials dealing with the situation in the Middle East.

Abu Nidal Official Discusses As-Sartawi Killing

NC101404 Paris AFP in English 1352 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] [no place-name as received] May 10 (AFP) — The commandos who "executed the traitor 'Isam as-Sartawi" in Portugal April 10 managed to leave the country after "accomplishing their mission," a leader of the dissident Abu Nidal Palestinian group has told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

The official was commenting on "confessions" attributed to a suspect reportedly arrested by Portuguese police after Dr as-Sartawi, a senior advisor to Palestine Liberation Organization head Yasir 'Arafat, was shot dead while attending a conference of the Socialist International as an observer. The suspect was quoted by the newspaper DIARIO DE LISBOA as saying he belonged to Abu Nidal, which has broken ranks with the PLO and which has claimed responsibility for the killing.

A purported communique from the group accused Dr as-Sartawi of being an agent for Israeli, U.S. and British intelligence services and of being an enemy of the Palestinian people.

Interviewed recently in an Arab capital and identifying himself as "Comrade Yusuf," the Abu Nidal official also delivered a pointed warning to Britain, where a court has sentenced three men to prison terms in connection with the attempted assassination last June of the Israeli ambassador in London. "Regarding Britain," he said, "our position is clear. They have treated our comrades in an immoral manner. We cannot keep quiet before this racist behavior if the British Government does not remedy the situation. We demand the release of our comrades who were more severely sentenced than the Yorkshire Ripper."

A London court sentenced an Iraqi to 35 years in prison and two Jordanians to terms of 30 years each last march for the shooting that left Ambassador Shlomo Argov almost totally paralyzed and triggered the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

"Comrade Yusuf," his face swathed in a long kufiyyah (scarf), spoke for nearly three hours on the group's armed operations in Europe during an interview that took place in the middle of the night at an office for Palestinian "social work."

He asserted that the Abu Nidal group was not behind the machine-gun attack on a Jewish-owned restaurant in Paris last August 9 that left six dead and 22 wounded. He attributed the operation to an "international progressive anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist movement."

"We have no complexes about the operations we carry out," he explained. "They are always followed by communiques." The

absence of a communique following an attack, he said, indicated that Abu Nidal was not responsible.

Shortly after the Paris shooting on the Rue des Rosiers, French Interior Minister Gaston Defferre implicitly accused the Abu Nidal faction, which is also known as "the Fatah Revolutionary Council" and is committed to armed struggle to liberate "occupied Palestine."

"We have no animosity toward the French people," Comrade Yusuf continued. "We have respect and appreciation for it and other peoples of Europe, for their interests and those of the Arab masses are common, as they too are victims of American monopolies which utilize the Zionist movement as an instrument and an associate in their domination of Europe." He charged that the "commitment" not to attack French interests, as was recently communicated to Paris newspapers, was "more than a truce as far as France is concerned."

"It will depend on the French attitude opposing the Zionist movement, which tries to use the territory of France and the countries of Western Europe to attack Palestinians."

He said it was not in France's interests "to protect the killers of our children" and stressed that the "commandos" belonging to Abu Nidal were not "terrorists" as they have been described in the French press.

The commitment, which goes "beyond a truce", applies equally "to any European country that would be prepared not to protect Zionists and not to be hostile to the Palestinian people."

Comrade Yusuf declared that his group was struggling "to break the shackles of a capitulationist solution imposed by Zionism, the United States and Arab reactionaries. We have struck and we shall continue to strike at Palestinian traitors in their work places. It is their punishment and it is also a warning to European countries against participating in such a solution."

He denied that PLO official Abu Iyad (Salah Khalaf) could have warned French Secretary of State for Public Security Joseph Franceschi of "a wave of attacks next summer in France, Italy, the United States and Lebanon," as reported by newspapers in France. "These are lies," Comrade Yusuf said. "No one can have knowledge of our operations. The structure of our organization guarantees absolute secrecy."

Asked about the victims of an attack in the Belgian city of Antwerp in July, 1980, he said they were members of youth organizations rather than children. One person died in the grenade assault and 16 were injured. "No one can attack children," he declared, "but the nature of the struggle imposed on us by the zionist movement means that we cannot control the age of the victims. Thousands of children were in Beirut under the bombardment of the Israeli Air Force. Why focus on incidents that are, after all, limited and acquit the Zionist criminals?"

GULF AFFAIRS

GCC Plan To Stop Iraq-Iran War Reported

GF100830 Doha QNA in Arabic 0738 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Kuwait, 10 May (QNA) — Press reports published here today said that during the GCC foreign ministers' extraordinary meeting, which was held in Manama yesterday, an agreement was reached to intensify contacts in the next few days in order to present or formulate a Gulf plan to stop the Iraq-Iran war.

The newspaper AL-WATAN said that another meeting of the GCC foreign ministers will be held next week in order to adopt a plan after holding further contacts. The meeting will be held before 15 May and will not be held in Riyadh as was previously announced. The newspaper did not refer to the place or date of the meeting.

Quoting informed sources, the newspaper said the Gulf plan will be drawn up in light of the letters exchanged by the amir of Kuwait and the leaders of the UN Security Council permanent member-states, and the intensive Gulf contacts with the world's countries, in addition to contacts with both Tehran and Baghdad.

Further quoting these sources, the newspaper said that an extensive Gulf action will be taken in the next few days through Gulf envoys to a number of the world's countries within the framework of a new campaign. The newspaper added that the ministerial council listened to a detailed explanation by the Saudi foreign minister on Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad's and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz' visits to Saudi Arabia. The ministers were also briefed on the letters the Iranian envoy carried to a number of Gulf countries. They also discussed the issue of the oil slick leaking from the Iranian oilfields.

UAE

President Receives French Defense Minister

GF091836 Abu Dhabi Domestic Service in Arabic 0930 GMT 9 May 83

[Excerpts] President Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan Al Nuhayyan received in Al-Mushrif Palace today French Defense Minister Charles Hernu and the accompanying delegation currently visiting the country.

During the meeting, joint relations and cooperation between the two countries and the means to strengthen them in various fields, in addition to issues of mutual interest, were discussed.

Mr Hernu affirmed France's concern for improving its relations with the Arab world in order to serve the welfare and interests of both sides. The French minister also conveyed French President Francois Mitterrand's greetings and wishes to the UAE president and people for greater progress and prosperity.

Lieutenant General Shaykh Khalifah ibn Zayid, Abu Dhabi heir apparent and deputy supreme commander of the Armed Forces, received in his palace at Al-Khalidiyah today French Defense Minister Charles Hernu and the delegation accompanying him. Shaykh Khalifah welcomed the French minister and expressed his hope that this visit will end with good results regarding the strengthening of cooperation and friendship between the two countries in all fields. Shaykh Khalifah also expressed his satisfaction with the high-level relations between the UAE and France, and described them as excellent relations which stem from joint interests and mutual respect.

The French defense minister invited Shaykh Khalifah ibn Zayid to visit France. Shaykh Khalifah accepted the invitation, the date of which will be fixed later.

French Defense Minister Charles Hernu said that his country appreciates the UAE's concern about improving its security and protecting its independence and interests. He said that bilateral cooperation in the military field is longstanding, multifaceted, and based on confidence.

In a statement to the WAM correspondent in Paris, prior to his departure for Abu Dhabi, the French minister said that the purpose of his visit to the UAE is to discuss views on bilateral cooperation and to study the progress of the various projects that are being implemented, as well as other projects currently being negotiated, particularly on aircraft, in addition to discussing the situation in the Middle East and the French policy toward it.

He said that France does not impose political conditions on its cooperation and hopes that this cooperation will not be confined to special equipment contracts, but will involve technical and training aid. He said that his visit is a political one, the nature of which is friendship and cooperation based on confidence.

Charles Hernu referred to efforts on Gulf security, saying that his country salutes the GCC countries' efforts to coordinate and strengthen their security. He said that the Gulf countries are sovereign countries that independently adopt decisions, and it is in their own interest to strengthen their security and remain out of theconflicts of foreign powers. He said that since this is also France's position toward the European group, it salutes the efforts that are aimed at regional level coordination, and particularly the GCC's efforts. He said that this part of the world, like other parts of the world, is witnessing tension and crisis. Its strategic importance and role in the international economy are important factors propelling the region's countries to maintain their own security.

The French minister called for putting an end to the Iraq-Iran war and said that his country has not spared any efforts in the Security Council to stop the war. He said that it will be difficult to bring about an end to the war unless both sides of the conflict agree to hold a dialogue and negotiations. He said that he believes Iraq is ready for this and said he hoped that Iran is too.

'Ali Interview With ROSE AL-YUSUF 9 May

PM1014111 Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 9 May 83 pp 19-21

[Interview with Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali by Jamal ad-Din Husayn in Cairo — date not given]

[Excerpts] Question: What is the Egyptian attitude toward Israeli actions, past and present, in the Tabah area?

Answer: Our stand is clear and frank. We adhere to all the provisions of the 25 April 1982 paper, the agreement signed between Egypt, Israel, and the United States. This agreement is complementary to the peace treaty signed 26 March 1979.

The 25 April 1982 agreement provides that neither party should carry out any activities going beyond the situation that existed before the withdrawal and that conditions be frozen until the dispute between the two countries is resolved.

With regard to Israeli actions and violations in the Tabah area, we have lodged protests with both the United States and Israel. The U.S. side considered these violations to be a breach of the treaty. What I would like to affirm here is that these actions by Israel in the Tabah area will absolutely not affect our attitude toward reconciliation or arbitration at later stages.

Question: Certain voices are calling for normalization with Israel to be suspended until it withdraws from Tabah.

Answer: We must seek the implementation of the 25 April 1982 agreement. The question of normalization is not related to Tabah. Normalization has its own circumstances because, as we know, it has been affected on the popular level by Israel's actions in the West Bank and Gaza and Israel's intensification of settlement building in order to Judaize the area.

As for Tabah, we should not make measures of reconciliation or arbitration dependent on anything else.

Question: Following the failure of the Jordanian-Palestinian talks and the assassination of the late 'Imam as-Sartawi, how do you view the future of the Palestinian problem, particularly since there does not appear to be any hope now of a positive Palestinian-Arab move toward Reagan's plan?

Answer: I believe that in the light of the Israeli rejection of the Reagan plan, the Israeli actions in the West Bank and Gaza, and the escalation of the building of Jewish settlements, the lack of a positive Arab move and the delay in solving the problem are a historical mistake that serves Israel's objectives and agrees with its interests in the West Bank and Gaza.

Therefore there should be a Palestinian-Jordanian decision to enter upon negotiations on the basis of Reagan's plan, which is a "U.S. stand." We should encourage this stand and enable the U.S. Administration to do all it can with Israel so that the whole problem is not blamed on Arab rejection.

Question: Some people wonder about the usefulness of Palestinian and Arab acceptance of Reagan's plan when Israel has rejected it. Others voice doubts, particularly because U.S. pressure on Israel has so far failed to make it withdraw from southern Lebanon.

Answer: To put this question differently, we would ask: If these are the facts of the situation, what benefit would rejection bring to the Arabs and their cause? Will the Arab stand improve? This is the question that comes to the fore now. Rejection is easy. But Israel should be made to take the blame for this rejection, which will be looked upon differently by the U.S. Administration.

With regard to the U.S. ability to exert pressure, some people previously doubted whether the United States would be able to put pressure on Israel with regard to airfields and settlements in Sinai. Nevertheless, we reached agreement, which in the end enabled us to liberate Sinai from Israeli occupation.

Question: We always talk about the U.S. role in the peace process. What about the role of the Soviet Union, the second superpower?

Answer: We must first support the U.S. move. Through this move we were able to reach the peace framework in the Middle East, sign the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, and achieve total Israeli withdrawal on 25 April 1982.

The United States must complete this process in order to achieve peace. In any case this stage is bound to lead to another stage, which is agreement among all the big powers to guarantee peace, pursue it, and support it. This can come only through an international agreement. If comprehensive peace is not achieved via the United States then the matter will be put to an international conference.

Question: Is the restoration of Egyptian-Soviet relations and the exchange of ambassadors a "matter of time"?

Answer: Egypt always maintains normal relations with all world countries, and so it is natural for it to have normal relations with the Soviet Union. But this certainly does not prevent us from having special relations with the United States.

As President Mubarak said in Tokyo, we have no conditions for the return of relations to normal except noninterference by anybody in our internal affairs. This applies to the Soviet Union and others.

Question: Do you think that it is likely that the Gulf region will become the arena of armed conflict between the two superpowers?

Answer: There is no doubt that the Soviet presence in Afghanistan has disturbed the strategic balance in the Middle East. As we know, the presence of a superpower is bound to be countered by the presence of another superpower, which creates instability. The Soviet presence in Afghanistan and the possibility of that presence expanding will no doubt affect other balances. It is an invitation to the United States to enter the area with considerable weight.

The presence of both sides, therefore, creates a danger of conflict breaking out between them. For this reason we have always called for a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Question: Do not the facilities granted to the United States in Ras Banas contribute to increasing tension and conflict in the Gulf region?

Answer: The facilities granted to the United States have never constituted a base. They are subject to many terms, which do not make them a cause for tension. As I said, the Soviet presence in Afghanistan and in some parts of Africa creates an imbalance in the area. For this reason we call for the departure of foreign forces from the African countries.

Question: Do you expect Israel to carry out a military action that might cause an explosion in the area?

Answer: It is impossible for the situation to remain as it is for a long time and the possibilities of a clash exist as long as there are foreign forces on the Lebanese territory.

For this reason we call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces — Syrian, Israeli, and Palestinian — so as to avoid any military clash in Lebanon.

On the other hand, I certainly do not believe that the existence of SAM-5's can be a justification for Israel to carry out military action against Syria.

'Ali on Recent Talks in Bucharest

AU092036 Bucharest LUMEA No. 19 in Romanian 5 May 83 p 5

[Report on Nicolae Stanga interview with Kamal Hasan 'Ali, Egyptian foreign minister, entitled: "Romanian-Egyptian Relations: 'Very Good Prospects for Development'"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Romanian Government, Kamal Hasan 'Ali, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt, paid an official visit to our country 27-30 April.

On this occasion, President Nicolae Ceausescu received the Egyptian deputy prime minister and foreign minister. Kamal Hasan 'Ali also had a meeting with Gheorghe Oprea, deputy prime minister of the government, and Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs. Before leaving Bucharest, the guest met with Romanian and Egyptian journalists to whom he made a statement on conclusions and impressions gathered during his visit. During his meeting with press representatives, Kamal Hasan 'Ali said:

First I would like to express warm thanks to President Nicolae Ceausescu and the Romanian Government for inviting me to visit Romania. It gave me particular pleasure to pay this visit and to be able to have talks with the Romanian political figures on certain aspects concerning relations between our countries, and in connection with some particularly important international issues. The excellent welcome and hospitality granted to me in your country best and most convincingly reflect the relations of close friendship between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Socialist Republic of Romania. The privilege of being received by President Nicolae Ceausescu was an opportunity for me to hand him a message on behalf of President Muhammad Husni Mubarak and to inform the Romanian president about the latest contacts Egypt has had in connection with Middle East issues generally, and in connection with other important aspects of international political life. I can state with certainty that the meeting with President Nicolae Ceausescu was extremely constructive.

Asked about the development so far of economic relations between the two countries, and with the prospects for developing them, the guest said:

Relations between our countries have strongly developed. Were I to mention only trade in recent years, it amounts to some $420 million. Presidents Muhammad Husni Mubarak and Nicolae Ceausescu decided — during the meetings that took place beginning in the second part of last year — to increase the volume of trade to $1 billion. To achieve this important target, the 14th session of the joint Egyptian-Romanian Government Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation that will meet in Cairo in the first half of May is to examine a number of tangible ways and means that will give an impetus to cooperation in all fields. As you have been able to note, prospects are very good and our countries have the conditions to intensively develop their relations.

In connection with the Middle East problem, which played an important part during the political-diplomatic dialogue in Bucharest, the Egyptian foreign minister was asked to present the points of view on which Romania and Egypt agree to rapidly resolve the situation in that area.

There is full agreement on the fact that 1983 is a decisive year for the solution, from all viewpoints , of the Middle East problems, the Egyptian foreign minister said. A convergence of opinions was expressed also on resolving the Lebanese problem and, especially on the need for all foreign forces to withdraw from that country as soon as possible. In this respect, we hail any progress in the direction of working out a "plan," a "timetable" for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon. A positive solution to the problems in that country could also be an encouragement for the other sides involved in the conflict in that area, could stimulate them to conduct, in their turn, negotiations with the aim of resolving the existing state of affairs by political and peaceful means.

As for the general situation in that part of the world, it is clear that it is necessary for all forces involved to act to resolve problems through negotiations. However, it is necessary to bring about a number of changes in Israel's position. Another aspect on which we also agree is that of the Israeli settlements in the West Bank — a factor that is hampering the process of peace and, at the same time, constitutes an illegitimate action which is at variance with the principles of international law and violates the resolutions of the world forum of peoples. Undoubtedly, in resolving the Middle East situation peacefully, the PLO is to play a leading role. The Palestinian people's legitimate rights and,

particularly, their right to an independent entity are essential for resolving the Middle East problems.

Abu Ghazalah Interview With AS-SIYASI

PM082321 Cairo AS-SIYASI in Arabic 24 Apr 83 pp 3, 11

[Interview with Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister and Defense Minister Marshal 'Abd al-Halim Abu Ghazalah by Nuris Ahmad in Cairo "on the occasion of the first anniversary of Israeli withdrawal from Sinai"]

[Excerpts] AS-SIYASI: In your capacity as defense minister of the biggest Middle East state, is it possible to evaluate the military situation in the Middle East in the light of the military battles in Lebanon, the preparations for the evacuation of foreign armies from it, the Iraq-Iran war, and the occurrence from time to time of skirmishes and provocations on the sudanese borders?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: Before discussing the military situation we must first underline the following facts:

A. The Middle East is one of the world's most important areas at present; it represents the principal scene of world conflict, particularly between the two superpowers.

B. What is happening in the Middle East cannot be isolated or dealt with separately from the current conflicts in the international arena. If the cold war between the two superpowers has become less acute or come somewhat to a halt in other arenas, this war is still going on and continuing in the Middle Eastern and African arenas.

C. The situation in the Middle East at present is susceptible to many political influences affecting security and stability in the area. These are:

1. The effects and repercussions of the conflict between the big powers in the area and the resultant attempts to polarize and establish axes in the area. There is no doubt that this situation increases factors of instability in the area.

2. The regional tensions resulting from differences and incompatibility of purposes, objectives, and strategies between some countries in the area, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Iraq-Iran war, and the Somali-Ethiopian conflict.

3. Arab division and disruption, which are basically due to personal factors, personal ambitions, or differences in tactics on certain problems in the area despite agreement on the major objectives.

4. The Middle East is witnessing a major military growth with regard to the opposite axes in the area, which is a serious phenomenon in view of the following:

1. The importation by all the countries of arms from abroad.

2. The existing atmosphere of tension and division.

In the light of this it can be said that the military situation in the area is basically linked to the international-regional political situation.

With regard to the Lebanon battles and the possibility of the foreign armies evacuating it:

1. On the one hand the war has shown the extent of the development of the Israeli military arsenal and, on the other, it has proved the concept that military weakness might tempt a strong neighbor to immediately resort to military action to solve any problem with his neighbors. Consequently, the Israeli invasion has led to an increase in the arms race in the area.

2. What has happened in Lebanon confirms that the Middle East problem cannot be solved by military force but rather by working for a just resolution through negotiations.

3. There is no doubt that what has happened in Lebanon has led to military escalation and the deepening of political differences over the Arab-Israeli conflict, the end result of which has been increasing tension in the area.

4. The achievement of political and military stability requires the following:

A. The need for the Arabs to forget their differences and unite their ranks because their disperson leads only to weakness and loss.

B. To proceed rapidly and in wide steps toward the achievement of a comprehensive, just, and lasting peace in the area.

C. The need to avoid turning the Middle East into a scene of cold war between the two superpowers.

D. The importance of achieving military balance in the area so that Arab military weakness will not be an invitation to aggression against any Arab state.

With regard to the effects of the Iraq-Iran war on the military situation in the Middle East, I would like to point out the following:

1. In its present state the war is only a semistatic war of attrition and is expected to remain so without substantial changes.

2. This war involves losses for both sides, and neither side can achieve any results from it in its favor through the continuation of the war.

3. There is no doubt that the continuation of the war and the possibilities of its development create constant conflict in the area, which in turn is leading to an increase in foreign influence on the one hand and an increase in the present instability on the other.

4. We believe that it is in the interest of all the parties to reach a rapid peaceful solution for the Iraq-Iran conflict because the continuation of the conflict involves great dangers to the security and stability of the area.

With regard to what is happening on the Sudanese borders I would like to confirm the following:

1. We are well aware that the conflict in the area represents a loss to all the Arab nation. Therefore, Egypt and Sudan are anxious to achieve stability and avoid tension occurring on the borders with any of their neighbors.

2. Any attempt to bring pressure on Sudan or to threaten its security will no doubt affect Egyptian national security. Consequently, we always stress that we will under no circumstances allow Sudan's security to be jeopardized.

3. On the other hand we have no hostile intentions toward any of our neighbors or Sudan's neighbors.

4. Egypt and Sudan are linked by a joint defense pact and, therefore, military security measures for both states are planned and administered jointly so as to deter, repulse, and defeat any aggression to which either country will be a target.

Egypt's Arab Commitments

AS-SIYASI: In the light of the present Arab relations, is Egypt committed to the Arab joint defense pact or to the bilateral agreements it has with some Arab countries?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: 1. The joint defense pact was concluded within the Arab League framework. As we know, the majority of the Arab countries decided to move the Arab League headquarters from Cairo; they also froze Egypt's membership in the League despite Egypt's confirmation of its Arab commitments and adherence to the Arab League.

2. There is no doubt that any defense pact between countries is a two-way street. One cannot conceivably ask a party why it does not implement a pact when the other party is not committed to anything.

Therefore, I believe that you agree with me that this pact is inoperative between the Arab states, let alone between Egypt and those states which have severed diplomatic relations with it. Is it conceivable to ask now about this pact and its implementation?

3. Egypt is an Arab African state that believes in its Arabism and fulfills its duty that stems from its commitment to the Arab cause: it has a firm, unchanging policy that stems from authentic and firm principles.

4. With regard to bilateral agreements between Egypt and other states, there is a joint defense pact between us and Sudan. This matter enjoys greater priority on our part whether within the framework of bilateral or collective commitments in view of the fact that the security of Sudan and Egypt are closely linked.

The Situation With Libya

AS-SIYASI: Do you believe that the provocations which certain big powers inspire Libya to carry out from time to time on the Egyptian, Sudanese, or Chadian borders could develop into real fighting or a clash between the Libyan armed forces and the forces of these three countries?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: Before answering your question I would like first to underline the following principles:

A. The protection and defense of the national security of any state is the number one goal of the machinery of this state.

B. Any threat to national security must be dealt with with strength and with all the state's resources.

C. Security cannot be achieved with wishes or words but should be backed by effective material strength and determination to use this strength to achieve such security.

With regard to Egypt, I would like to affirm the following:

A. We harbor no hostile intentions toward any of our neighbors, particularly Libya.

B. We have maximum interest in working to mend the Arab rift and achieve Arab solidarity.

C. We consider the security of Sudan an integral part of Egyptian security, and any threat to Sudan's security is a threat to our security.

D. The achievement of security is the number one goal of the Egyptian armed forces.

These are the principles that govern our position regarding ensuring our borders and security. As for how other parties behave, that is something that I cannot answer on their behalf.

Egyptian-U.S. Exercises

AS-SIYASI: There has been much talk about the aims of the joint Egyptian-U.S. exercises and the visit to the Mediterranean by some U.S. strategic naval units. It has been said that Egypt agreed with all that happened recently . It is possible to explain the truth about this situation?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: With regard to the Egyptian-U.S. exercises our attitude toward them is as follows:

A. We believe that such exercises provide us with rich soil for gaining experience and modern military technology.

B. Egypt has friendly relations and interests with the United States.

C. We have already said that we are prepared to hold joint exercises with any other forces and not just the U.S. forces if this is in our interest.

These exercises are not an innovation or something new that we have invented. Several other countries follow the same methods to serve their own armed forces. Also, the United States has held joint exercises with several other countries, including some countries of the Arabian Peninsula.

As long as these exercises achieve benefits for us and cause us no harm, why should we not try them?

Rapid Deployment Force

AS-SIYASI: Certain Egyptian sources have said that the aim of the maneuvers which Egypt carries out from time to time with the U.S. Air Force and the Rapid Deployment Force [RDF] is to enhance the combat ability of the armed forces. We would like to ask you to explain how the Egyptian forces benefit from such joint exercises.

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: 1. Military science, in the light of the great technological progress and tremendous development in the means of fighting, is witnessing continued development in various fields, be it the methods of fighting, tactics, the art of command and control, the means of securing combat training, or other methods.

2. There is no doubt that the military arsenals of big powers such as the United States, Western Europe, and the Soviet Union are developing at a fast rate, and therefore they are in the forefront of the countries developing military science. As for the developing countries, especially the countries that do not produce arms, they are interested in benefiting from the experience of the big powers, especially those which supply them with arms.

3. As far as we are concerned, we have had East European arms for a long time and our armed forces have high technical and combat experience in the use of these arms that are available to us.

With regard to our obtaining Western arms, we are interested in gaining experience and knowledge in these arms that would enable us to achieve maximum effectiveness and efficiency in the use of the arms we possess.

4. The joint exercises with the U.S. forces enable Egypt to achieve rapid training on Western equipment because, for example, we can reap the following fruits:

1. Training in the use of certain modern Western weapons.

2. Gaining knowledge of the latest developments in modern technology which these forces utilize in the various operational stages.

3. Gaining knowledge in newly-developed combat and training methods.

The Situation With Israel

AS-SIYASI: Is Israel implementing the peace treaty provisions with regard to the Egyptian-Israeli borders, and do you believe that the multinational forces are doing their job satisfactorily? Are there any violations on the part of Israel, especially with regard to the border areas?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: 1. So far Egypt and Israel are fully abiding by the military provisions of the peace treaty.

2. With regard to the borders, there is no problem other than the dispute over one border marker in the Tabah area.

3. The dispute over Tabah is a technical one involving the position of one border marker in an area approximately 800 meters wide and 1,200 meters long. The dispute is still the subject of negotiations, and if negotiations fail there wil be arbitration. I believe that the dispute can be solved, particularly because our position is based on accurate documents that support our view. Our position regarding the borders is clear, namely that we will not forsake a single centimeter of our land.

4. With regard to violations or daily problems on the borders, matters are proceeding normally as they do on the borders between any two neighboring states. The multinational forces are carrying out their task correctly.

U.S. Arms Program

AS-SIYASI: Are the armament programs between you and the United States going according to what you asked for in the last visit you paid to the United States?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: 1.[number as published] The armament programs between Egypt and the United States are in accordance with the following:

A. Our short- and long-term plans for developing our armed forces.

B. Our requests for arms in accordance with our military needs on the one hand and our financial ability on the other.

C. Regarding the United States as one of the major sources for obtaining arms within the framework of our strategic line, which is based on diversifying sources of armament.

In the light of this I can say that the program for U.S. arming of Egypt is going strictly according to plan.

Soviet Arms

AS-SIYASI: It is known that the United States is one of the major sources of Egyptian armament. What are the other sources that you seek in order to meet the armed forces' requirements? Supposing that political relations with the Soviet Union returned to normal, do you intend to buy some of your military requirements from there?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: 1. [number as published] Within the framework of its armament Egypt depends on three basic sources, which are the following:

A. Sophisticated Western weapons, particularly from the United States, France, Britain, Italy, Canada, and others.

B. Eastern arms and equipment, which we have already possessed for many years, in addition to obtaining Eastern arms from China and others.

C. The production by Egyptian war factories of spare parts and ammunititon for the Eastern arms in our possession and developing these arms with a view to prolonging their serviceability and effectiveness. We have achieved great success in this field as well as in the field of manufacturing many of our basic needs for arms, equipment, and ammunition.

With regard to our policy on armament, we seek to achieve a certain balance between the Western arms and the Eastern arms that we possess. We have laid down a precise plan for new replacements for Eastern and Western arms that become old.

Eastern and Western Missiles

AS-SIYASI: Does the Western missile system — the French Crotale and the U.S. Hawk — recently provided for our armed forces make up for the lack of Eastern missiles such as the SAM-2, SAM-3, SAM-6, and SAM-7?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: 1. It is wrong to make an absolute comparison between two weapons.

2. Our obtaining of this or that weapon, particularly with regard to air defense, depends on the following factors:

A. The need to benefit from the lessons we learned from the October 1973 war.

B. The importance of air defense being compatible with the plans to develop the air force so as to create an integrated military structure that achieves the best results.

C. The suitability of the weapons we obtain for the requirements of engaging enemy targets that might need to be dealt with. Supposing that the SAM-2 deals with high altitude targets, Crotale missiles are known to be the best missiles for dealing with low altitude air targets.

D. The need to achieve an integration of the air defense means that enables the various air threats to be repulsed.

Taking all these factors into consideration, I can say that our obtaining of the Crotale and Hawk missiles is quite compatible with the requirements of our air defense requirements.

U.S. Personnel Carriers

AS-SIYASI: The Armed Forces were recently supplied with U.S.-made armored personnel carriers. Do these have capabilities matching those of Eastern personnel carriers?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: We obtained the U.S. armored troop carriers after a critical study on our part of the technical and tactical characteristics of the vehicle, which we found suitable for our requirements and meet our demands in this field.

Reportage on Visit by FRG Technology Minister

Minister Arrives 9 May

NC091953 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1820 GMT 9 May 83

[Text] Cairo, 9 May (MENA) — Dr Heinz Riesenhuber, FRG minister of research and technology, arrived in Cairo this evening leading a technical delegation on a 5-day visit to the Arab Republic of Egypt at the invitation of Engineer Mahir Abazah, minister of electricity and energy, who received him at the airport. During the visit, the FRG minister will hold talks with Egyptian officials on bilateral cooperation in using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and for generating electricity, as well as on cooperation in the industrial and oil sectors.

Mubarak Meets FRG Minister

NC101021 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0810 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Cairo, 10 May (MENA) — President Muhammad Husni Mubarak this morning received FRG Minister of Research and Technology Heinz Riesehuber. The meeting was attended by Minister of Electricity and Energy Mahir Abazah and FRG Ambassador in Cairo Kurt Mueller.

Following the meeting, the FRG minister said that he conveyed an oral message from FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl to President Husni Mubarak. He also said that the FRG chancellor will visit Egypt in the fall with the aim of strengthening relations between the two countries.

The FRG minister of research and technology referred to the good relations and the close cooperation between the two countries in the fields of technology, science, industry, and economy. He said that the FRG will deliver a nuclear research reactor in September as a gift from the FRG Government. He added that he will discuss some solar and nuclear energy projects with the Egyptian side.

Meanwhile, Minister of Electricity and Energy Mahir Abazah said that President Mubarak is interested in Egyptian-FRG relations and that Egyptian-FRG cooperation in the field of energy was discussed during the meeting. He said that the reactor that will be supplied by the FRG will be modern and that it will have all the new technological and technical components, and hence will enhance Egyptian knowhow.

Abazah noted that in September the FRG will submit tenders for the establishment of two nuclear reactors. He affirmed that there is close cooperation in the fields of solar, wind, and nuclear energy. He added that a memorandum of understanding between the Egyptian and FRG sides is expected to be signed during the visit of the FRG minister. The memorandum will spell out the

ways of financing electricity projects under the 5-year plan, as well as financing the program for the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The FRG minister of research and technology arrived in Cairo yesterday at Abazah's invitation on a 4-day visit.

MENA on FRG Talks

NC101504 Cairo MENA in English 1445 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Cairo, May 10 (MENA) — Talks between Egypt and the Federal Republic of Germany on technical cooperation in the field of electricity and non-conventional energy opened here this morning at the Ministry of Electricity.

The Egyptian side was headed by Engineer Mahir Abazah, minister of electricity and energy, and the German side by Heinz Riesenhuber, minister of scientific research and technology.

Emerging from the meeting, Engineer Abazah said that the German minister conveyed his government's approval to offer Egypt a nuclear reactor witha capacity of 1000 kilowatts to be used in the field of nuclear research.

Germany has also agreed to offer Egypt pumps operated with solar energy to be used in pumping subterranean water for land reclamation projects in Wadi an-Natrun.

Abazah added that the two sides reviewed cooperation in the field of non-conventional energy particularly solar energy which would be used for electricity generating in remote areas unconnected with the unified grid.

Numayri Military Adviser Begins 10-day Visit

NC091024 Cairo MENA in English 1010 GMT 9 May 83

[Text] Cairo, May 9 (MENA) — A Sudanese delegation representing the Numayri Military Academy arrived here today on a ten-day visit. The delegation includes the Sudanese president's military advisor Major General Ahmad Idris, and State Minister for Trade Ahmad Salim Ahmad as well as a number of other senior officials.

Director of Nasir Military Academy Major General Ahmad Isma'il Fakhr welcomed the Sudanese military delegation at the air-port together with Sudanese Ambassador 'Abd ar-Rahman Salman.

Romanian Economic Delegation Arrives 10 May

NC101501 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1400 GMT 10 May 83

[Excerpt] Cairo, 10 May (MENA) — A Romanian economic delegation led by First Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Oprea arrived in Cairo today for a 4-day visit to Egypt.

During its visit, the delegation will hold talks on the prospects of Romania's contributing to the integration projects between Egypt and Sudan in the field of land reclamation and on economic cooperation between Egypt and Romania. The delegation will also discuss increasing the trade volume between Egypt and Romania and a Romanian loan for the Egyptian rural electrification projects.

AL-AHRAM Urges Backing Lebanon-Israel Accord

NC100622 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2225 GMT 9 May 83

[Text] Cairo, 9 May (MENA) — The Cairo newspaper AL-AHRAM calls on the Arab world not to hasten to reject the Lebanese-Israeli draft agreement without trying hard to build on it, as happened with President Reagan's initiative, because Israel is the party that will benefit from Arab rejection.

In Tuesday's editorial, AL-AHRAM cautions that Israel is waiting for the Arabs to reject Shultz' plan on the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon so it can dissociate itself from the plan after demonstrating to the world its desire for peace and that it has gone as far as it could for peace. AL-AHRAM points out that Israel's gains in the case it dissociates itself from the fragile agreement, if the others reject it, is that it will resort to unilateral action, such as a unilateral partial withdrawal. This will enable it to kill two birds with one stone; it will have demonstrated its good intention with such a withdrawal and at the same time will keep some Lebanese territory according to the required partition plan. In addition, Israel will completely win the U.S. side over with the escalation of the Syrian stand to the level of the international strategic conflict with the Soviets because of the presence of the new Soviet missiles.

The newspaper notes that Israel has gained many things by its approval in principle of the draft agreement produced by the shuttle efforts of the U.S. secretary of state. In addition to showing its peaceful side, its differences with the United States will be diminished. This means that the U.S. coffers and arms arsenals will be opened. Israel has also gained by ending the state of war with Lebanon and stopping any operations against it from Lebanese territory. This will encourage it to consider starting bilateral talks with states other than Lebanon.

In conclusion, AL-AHRAM affirms that Israel's approval of the draft agreement has placed the Arabs, as usual, in a position in which they must react, in view of the fact that they always fail to act, and decide on either war or peace.

Communique Sums Up 9-10 May War Operations

JN101617 Baghdad Domestic Service in Arabic 1600 GMT 10 May 83

[Communique No 1,087 issued by Armed Forces General Command on 10 May]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. In defense of Iraq's safety and sovereignty, our daring Armed Forces are continuing their heroic operations against the forces of the rancorous Khomeyni regime. The results for last night and today are as follows:

1. Spotting an enemy concentration in front of their positions at the Maysan sector, our forward units attacked it with various weapons, killing 11 and wounding several others. In the same sector our forces destroyed one vehicle carrying troops and two observation posts.

2. In the northern sector of the front, our forward units opened fire at a group of enemy soldiers in front of their positions, killing three.

3. Two were killed and one hardware stockpile and one observation post destroyed in the central sector of the front.

4. One was killed in the area east of Basra.

5. Today, the artillery of the mean Iranian enemy shelled Basra, Mandali, and their suburbs, as well as the township of Zurbatiyah. The bestial enemy shelling injured five civilians, including two women and two children, and destroyed two houses.

[Signed] The Armed Forces General Command, 10 May 1983

Iraq, France Resume Official Talks in Paris

JN101119 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1045 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Paris, 10 May (INA) — The Iraqi delegation led by Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, and the French delegation led by Claude Cheysson, minister of external relations, resumed their official talks here today.

Planning Minister Dr Samal Majid Faraj, Iraqi ambassador to France Dr Muhammad al-Mashshat, members of the delegation accompanying Tariq 'Aziz, and the French ambassador to Iraq attended the talks.

The official Iraqi-French talks began yesterday evening. Tariq 'Aziz arrived in Paris yesterday on an official visit.

'Aziz Confers With Delors

JN101837 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1810 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Paris, 10 May (INA) — Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, met here today with Jacques Delors, French minister of economy and finance. In a statement to the INA correspondent after the 1-hour meeting, 'Aziz said he talked about bilateral relations with Delors in a cordial atmosphere.

The meeting was attended by Minister of Planning Samal Majid Faraj, Iraqi Ambassador Muhammad al-Mashshat, and a number of senior French officials.

'Aziz Confers With Shultz

JN110921 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0855 GMT 11 May 83

[Text] Paris, 11 May (INA) — Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, has emphasized Iraq's stands, which call for a peaceful and just solution of the Iraq-Iran conflict according to UN Security Council resolutions.

During his meeting here last night with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who is in Paris to attend the annual ministerial conference of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, currently held by the seven industrialized states, Tariq 'Aziz called on the United Nations and the Security Council's permanent member states to assume their responsibility by seriously working for the termination of the conflict. He also expressed Iraq's support for any efforts to alleviate tension in the region and find a just solution to the Palestinian Arab people's problem.

Tariq 'Aziz told the U.S. secretary that Iraq reserves its opinion on any issue discussed on this level, especially after acquainting itself with the details of the situation. [sentence as received] He also stressed Iraq's support for Lebanon's independence and for the complete, unconditional withdrawal of the Zionist and other forces from Lebanon so this country can restore sovereignty over all its lands.

Shultz explained his government's position on the subjects discussed during the meeting, which was attended by Iraq's ambassador to France Muhammad al-Mashshat.

New Organization Claims Amman Explosions

JN101319 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1300 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] In a letter to the offices of the AGENCE FRANCE-PRESS in Athens, A hitherto unheard of organization called the Jordanian Revolutionary and Military Committee [Al-Lajnah al-'Askariyah wa ath-Thawriyah al-Urduniyah] has claimed responsibility for the two explosions that occurred in Amman yesterday that were aimed against U.S. interests in Amman. The letter said that the two operations constituted the first revolutionary answer to the U.S. plots and imperialist schemes of Shultz.

More on Bombings

NC101317 Paris AFP in English 1306 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Athens, May 10 (AFP) — An organization calling itself the "Military and Revolutionary Committee of Jordan — Mouab" claimed responsibility for two attacks yesterday against American offices in Amman, in a note to AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE received here today.

In the message, left in front of AFP's Athens Bureau, the group called the bombings "our first revolutionary answer to the conspiracies of the United States and an answer to Shultz' imperialistic plans." U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz last week won Israeli and Lebanese consent to an agreement on foreign troops withdrawals from Lebanon.

Two small incendiary devices exploded in Amman yesterday, one in an American insurance company office and the second in the headquarters of the "American friends of the Middle East" association. The blasts caused only minor damage. In its note, "Mouab" said the insurance and educational offices were "destroyed" while a third bomb planted in the "center of the CIA in Jordan" had been defused. Yesterday's attacks were the first against American property interests since 1970.

JORDAN TIMES Commentary

JN110952 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 11 May 83 p4

[Editorial: "Which Way to the Sand?"]

[Text] It will be the preferred tendency of many people to dismiss the two small explosions that occurred in Amman on Monday evening as isolated, unimportant incidents. We do not share this view, and we suggest that when bombs start exploding in the offices of American institutions in Jordan, the time is ripe for some honest soul-searching.

It was fortunate that nobody was hurt in the explosions on Monday. These were small explosive devices, which detonated in the early evening when the chance of people being hurt was small. This is a fortunate fact, perhaps even a lucky one. But one wonders: What if the explosions were bigger, and took place during the day, when both sites would have been crowded with people? The thought is unpleasant, to be sure. But we feel strongly that the way to deal with unpleasant thoughts is to tackle them head-on, and get to the root of their being. There are some — perhaps there are many — who would prefer to forget the whole affair and make believe that all is well in the Holy Land. There are some who would prefer that such awkward topics as bombings of American facilities in the Arab World not be mentioned in the press, and that we all stick our heads in the sand and collectively turn away from a reality that keeps reminding us — with bombs, with words, with massacres, with slaughters — that it will not go away by itself, no matter how far down into the sand we push.

To watch American facilities in the Arab world slowly transformed into armed defensive fortresses is a sad thing. One continues to ask: Why does it happen? Why is it that some people in the Arab World deem it appropriate to bomb American targets, in Beirut, Amman or wherever else? How many people do the mysterious bombers represent? What is it that has turned the Arab people into passive spectators in a vicious game of violence? How many Arabs are revolted by these bombings? How many are just passive? Is this an ugly, ungracious thought? From where does it stem? Where does the ugliness start? When will it end? Is anybody willing to study the real meaning of these recent bombings? Or do we all make a dash for the sandbox?

Al-Qasim Returns From Beirut Visit 10 May

JN101930 Amman Domestic Service in Arabic 1900 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Amman — Foreign Minister Marwan al-Qasim returned to Amman from Beirut this evening after conveying a message from His Majesty King Husayn to President Amin al-Jumayyil. The message dealt with recent developments in the region, particularly those related to the efforts currently being exerted to withdraw Israeli forces from fraternal Lebanon, and with the need for continuous intensive action on all Arab and international levels to help Lebanon regain its sovereignty, national unity, and stability, enabling this country to reoccupy its natural position in the region. The Jordanian and Lebanese sides also discussed fraternal bilateral relations and means of further promoting them.

This afternoon, the foreign minister met with his Lebanese counterpart and with the ministers of defense, finance, and justice. Talks in these meetings focused on issues of common interest to the two fraternal countries.

Reportage on Departure of Soviet Citizens

Al-Jumayyil, USSR Envoy Meet

NC101246 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1145 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] President Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil today held a meeting with the Soviet ambassador in the presence of Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan and Foreign Minister Dr Elie Salim. The president then received the Chinese ambassador to Lebanon and later the French charge d'affaires.

During his meeting with the Soviet ambassador, President al-Jumayyil emphasized to Ambassador Soldatov that Moscow must not turn Lebanon into a barter card in its conflict with Washington because Lebanon, though part of the free world, has good relations with the Soviet union. The president cautioned the Soviet ambassador that the terrorist organizations operating in Lebanese territory on Soviet orders or with Soviet funds as well as the presence of Soviet experts are two matters that conflict with and constitute a flagrant violation of Lebanon's sovereignty. He also told him that the withdrawal of Soviet employees from the embassy in Beirut has created an atmosphere Lebanon could do without and that prior consultations could have at least been held between the governments of the two countries.

Upon emerging from B'abda Palace, Ambassador Soldatov said that the withdrawal of the Soviet nationals was a routine matter that takes place every year. He said that the children who departed are going to training camps in Moscow during their annual vacation. He declined to reply to a question as to whether his country would participate in a war on Syria's side against Israel. He called on Israel to withdraw immediately from Lebanon, emphasizing that Moscow supports the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanese territory.

While Soldatov pointed out that the withdrawal of the nationals is a routine matter that takes place every year, an informed source stated that this measure this year took place earlier than usual because it normally took place around the middle of July or the end of June.

Soldatov on Departures

NC101305 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] The ambassadors of the UN Security Council's five permanent member states were today summoned to the Republican Palace, where President Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil met successively with them. Al-Jumayyil met with Soviet Ambassador Aleksandr Soldatov in the presence of Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan. They reviewed the latest developments and the Lebanese-Israeli draft agreement.

After meeting with Foreign Minister Dr Elie Salim, Ambassador Soldatov affirmed in a statement he made at the palace that the step taken by the Soviet Union to evacuate its nationals from Lebanon must not bear any political significance.

Through his interpreter, the Soviet ambassador said:

[Begin recording] First we would like to convey a word of thanks to his excellency the president, the prime minister, and the foreign minister for the discussions.

[Question] Mr Ambassador, President al-Jumayyil received you within the framework of summoning the ambassadors of the UN Security Council's five permanent member-states. Can you tell us the nature of the talks in these circumstances?

[Answer] It was to exchange information.

[Question] What is the nature of the reports about the departute of Soviet nationals from Beirut and the possibility of their departing Syria and Amman? Will other nationals be leaving Beirut soon?

[Answer] It appears that there is a misunderstanding. We usually send children and Soviet students to participate in children's camps in the Soviet Union for the duration of the summer school vacation. This is what we have done this year, too. It appears that this action has been interpreted incorrectly. For your information, the other foreign embassies in Lebanon have so far not returned their children to Beirut. We do this every year. It should be noted that previous years, unlike this year, were worse in respect of the security situation.

[Question] Last year you sent them around the end of June, not at the beginning of May.

[Answer] It was around the beginning of June.

[Question] Can you tell us which embassy's children have not returned to Lebanon?

[Answer] It appears that there is only the Soviet Embassy. [sentence as heard]

[Question] Your Excellency said that there are children belonging to other embassies who have been evacuated from Lebanon.

[Answer] [words indistinct] After the Israeli invasion.

[Question] In a statement yesterday Minister Khaddam said that if war breaks out, the Soviet Union will be committed to its stances and will support Syria. Do you expect a war in Al-Biqa' soon, and will the Soviet Union get involved in it?

[Answer] The last time two persons posed such a hypothetical question, we answered that we do not reply to such hypothetical questions. However, the information media of a certain state attributed an answer to this question to me which did not exist at all.

[Question] Mr Ambassador, we have not posed a hypothetical question. It was Minister Khaddam who spoke of the possibility of war breaking out.

[Another question] Mr Ambassador, there is a Lebanese-Israeli draft agreement for the withdrawal of non-Lebanese forces from Lebanon. The Syrians have rejected the agreement. What is the Soviet Union's stance regarding this particular subject and

regarding the evacuation of all foreign forces from Lebanon and the question of Syria's facilitating this?

[Answer] Our stance is supporting the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon.

[Question] Does the Soviet Union support the Lebanese-Israeli draft agreement now that the Israeli government has approved it?

[Answer] Our stance regarding this problem is known. We believe that the Israeli aggressor should withdraw from Lebanon immediately and unconditionally. We adhere to this stance in particular.

[Question] However, the Israeli side is demanding a simultaneous withdrawal with the Syrian Army?

[Answer] We believe that the aggressor should not have been here. Therefore, he should not raise complaints. This is what we spoke to you about. As for your question, we believe that all foreign forces should withdraw from Lebanon unconditionally. [end recording]

More Departures 11 May

NC110824 Beirut Voice of Lebanon 0815 GMT 11 May 83

[Text] A new group of Soviet nationals will leave Beirut today. Our correspondent reports that the Soviet aircraft that arrived to take this new group of Soviet citizens to Moscow came before its scheduled time at 1300. Quick measures have been taken to arrange for their departure.

24 Soviets Depart 11 May

NC111022 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1000 GMT 11 May 83

[Text] A special Soviet plane this morning transported 24 Soviet nationals from Beirut. This brings the total number of Soviet nationals who departed Beirut this week to 111 persons.

KUNA: Departures 'Precautionary Measure'

LD111139 Kuwait KUNA in English 1051 GMT 11 May 83

[Text] Beirut, May 11 (KUNA) — More Soviet nationals are to leave Lebanon Wednesday aboard a Soviet airliner, a source at Beirut airport said.

The source, who refused to be identified, said a Soviet aircraft, on a regular flight between Beirut and Moscow, arrived ahead of time, adding that special arrangements were made to speed up the departure process.

Some 87 Soviet nationals left Lebanon for Moscow Monday. Soviet Ambassador Aleksandr Soldatov said the departure was a routine move followed every year to enable the Soviet citizens residing in Lebanon spend their summer vacation at home.

However, a Soviet source in Moscow told KUNA that move was a "precautionary measure" due to an expected outbreak of hostilities between Israel and Syria in Lebanon.

Al-Jumayyil Receives Message From King Husayn

NC101320 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Jordanian Foreign Minister Marwan al-Qasim unexpectedly arrived in Beirut this morning. He was received by President al-Jumayyil at noon in the presence of Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan. Al-Jumayyil received a message from Jordanian King Husayn.

Al-Qasim Statement 10 May

NC101347 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1215 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Jordanian Foreign Minister Marwan al-Qasim has conveyed a message from King Husayn to President Amin al-Jumayyil in the presence of the third secretary of the Jordanian Foreign Ministry. [as heard] In a statement to the press, Al-Qasim said:

[Begin recording] I have conveyed a message from His Majesty King Husayn to his excellency the president. This message includes Jordan's assessment of the developments in this area in the past few weeks. Naturally, Jordan reconfirmed it will work continuously on all levels in an attempts to bring about the successful withdrawal of the foreign forces from Lebanon. There must be an Arab confirmation that Lebanon's regaining of its health and the restoration of its stability and normalcy must primarily be an Arab contribution in order not to provide an opportunity or justification for any non-Arab side to remain on Lebanese territory. Therefore, it must be reconfirmed that it is necessary to work very hard on the Arab level to give Lebanon breathing space enabling it to regain its health and permitting the withdrawal of the Israeli and other forces.

The other prerequisite for establishing the credibility of a comprehensive and just solution in the area is connected with halting and freezing the settlements in the occupied Arab territory-namely, in the West Bank, the Gaza sector and the Golan.

[Question] Does Jordan support the Lebanese-Israeli agreement in its present from?

[Answer] Jordan has naturally said the Arabs must always provide Lebanon with all opportunities enabling the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from its territory. Jordan will support every action in this direction.

[Question] Your Excellency the Minister: Jordan has a special [mutaqiddim] stand on the peace plan proposed by President Reagan. Will Jordan continue to contribute to the implementation of President Reagan's peace plan in the area following the Lebanese-Israeli draft agreement?

[Answer] The fact is that one of the basic requirements is that there should be a Jordanian-Palestinian agreement on the political action. After this, there must [words indistinct] of the credibility of the international stand, particularly the American stand. No Jordanian-Palestinian agreement was reached after the approximately 6 months of debates and discussions. Jordan had reached a joint stand in Amman. Jordan signed the draft agreement on this stand but the other side did not sign it. The truth is that there is no Jordanian-Palestinian disagreement as is rumored here and there. The fact is that Jordan adhered to what it agreed upon and what it signed, but the other side could not obtain a unanimous agreement from its members.

[Question] How then do you view the future of President Reagan's peace plan?

[Answer] I believe (?it still has) some chances. What does what is happening on the Arab land mean? For example, seven new settlements are being established now in Hebron District. What does this mean to the Palestinian and to the Arab? It means that Arab lands are being confiscated, that settlements are being erected, and that Jews are being settled in these settlements. It also means the evacuation of the West Bank's inhabitants from their land and their country.

[Question] It is known that during your last visit to Beirut [words indistinct] his majesty the king that the [words indistinct] Americans in Lebanon to secure the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon is a main condition for entering the negotiations. Is the Lebanese-Israeli draft agreement considered as a prelude for peace in the area or have the drums of war started beating?

[Answer] The fact is that the Arab states have a major duty to help Lebanon realize the total withdrawal from Lebanon. [end recording]

Chinese Ambassador in Beirut Makes Statement
NC101328 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] President al-Jumayyil today met with U.S. Ambassador Robert Dillon, British Ambassador David Roberts, the French charge d'affaires and the Chinese ambassador, who has stressed that his country supports everything that leads to consolidating Lebanese sovereignty.

[Begin recording] [Question] Mr Ambassador, you met with his excellency the president within the framework of his summoning the ambassadors of the UN Security Council's five permanent member-states. Can you tell the nature of the discussions?

[Answer] Today I was summoned by his excellency the president mainly to brief me on the developments in the situation concerning the Lebanese-Israeli negotiations.

[Question] There is a Lebanese-Israeli draft agreement which the Israeli Government has approved. Have the Lebanese authorities asked for the Chinese Government's support to push this agreement forward?

[Answer] His excellency the president and the prime minister summoned me to obtain the Chinese Government's support.

[Question] What is the Chinese Government's stance in this respect?

[Answer] The Chinese Government always calls for respecting Lebanon's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity. The Chinese Government supports all that serves Lebanon's interest in this respect. [end recording]

Liaison Body Meets; Syrian Demands Alleged
NC101424 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1215 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] In addition to the political and diplomatic meetings at the Presidential Palace today between President Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil and the representatives of the five major states accredited to Lebanon, the Higher Liaison Body Political Committee also held a meeting. Ambassador Ghassan Tuwayni deputized for President al-Jumayyil in chairing the meeting. The committee considered whether, under international law, the Israeli and Syrian forces are responsible for the lack of security in the areas under their control. This means that Israel and Syria are responsible for the indiscriminate artillery shelling to which the capital and some of the Lebanese areas were subjected in the past few days.

In another domain, it appears that Syria has demands — tantamount to conditions — for supporting the agreement for the foreign forces' withdrawal from Lebanon. One such demand is that a legitimate character be given to the Syrian forces in the north and the Al-Biqa', that they be regarded as deterrent forces, and that Lebanon ask the Arab countries to finance the Syrian forces with $160 million — $70 million to cover the current period and $90 million as an advance. Syria is also asking for the conclusion of a Syrian-Lebanese security agreement and for keeping Syrian forces in Lebanon in the form of observers.

VOL on Clarifying Vague Points in Agreement
NC101634 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1515 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] At 1430 today, U.S. Presidential Envoy Philip Habib left for Israel accompanied by Ambassador Draper and General Cooley. Habib will return to Lebanon tomorrow. He is attempting to obtain clear logical interpretations for points in the agreement which Lebanon found vague in form and basis.

According to information received by the Voice of Lebanon, the Lebanese Government does not intend to subject any agreement to study before all the required clarifications are made available. Therefore the draft agreement will not be on the agenda of the Chamber of Deputies on Thursday. This was affirmed by Chamber of Deputies Speaker Kamil al-As'ad.

Our political representative says that the Israelis have resorted to reopening the discussion on the required clarifications whereas Lebanon is requesting clarifications and refuses to have the

negotiations reopened anew. If Lebanon agrees to broaden the clarification of the clauses agreed upon, it does not accept returning to the points which had been excluded from discussion, especially those points which fell under the redlines category including the investigatory committees and the security arrangements.

Our representative says that the Israelis are requesting interpretations that will change the nature of things — a matter which is the responsibility of the joint committees. In Lebanon's opinion, the clarifications — whatever they are — cannot possibly lead to any change in the substance of the agreement because the Lebanese stand is summed up in the text of the agreement without any peripheral agreement. The agreement is viewed as an integrated subject and not as dissected parts.

Al-Wazzan May Visit Damascus for Talks

NC110725 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 0530 GMT 11 May 83

[Text] On the political level, the liberation of the land by all means is taking precedence over everything else provided that sovereignty and dignity are not affected. The government, which is aware of the reality of the Israeli occupation, the foreign military presence on its territory, and the serious dimensions consequent upon the continuity of this, is acting on a sound national basis and with full responsibility. The government is eager to make its own free decisions that will be in the homeland's sublime interests and that will not harm its neighbors in any way.

Therefore, the government is paying no attention to the outbiddings being raised over its stance and policy be they at home or abroad or by a friend or a brother. The government will maintain its stance as long as it is self-confident and knows the firm steps it is embarking upon and the national goals it has drawn up for itself.

In the wake of the developments following the draft agreement with Israel with the full participation of the United States and the Arab reaction to it, most of which supported the Lebanese stance but some of which opposed it, the government had to move at the Arab and the international levels through various channels. It was reported today that contacts are expected to be held in the next few days between Beirut and Damascus, and it is not ruled out that Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan or another official will visit Damascus this week for consultations on the draft agreement.

Agreement With Israel Still Subject to Change

NC110741 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 0530 GMT 11 May 83

[Excerpt] President al-Jumayyil last night met with Speaker Kamil al-As'ad. They discussed the latest political developments and the bills which the deputies will debate at tomorrow's session.

The draft agreement with Israel and the United States will not be discussed at this session, as has been rumored and reiterated.

The final form of the draft agreement is still to be completed. It is still subject to give and take between Beirut and Tel Aviv and to requests for clarifications and explanations regarding some provisions and points in the agreement by both sides. It is said that the number of these provisions and points is over 15.

Reportage on Clashes, Security Situation

Syrians Shell Al-Biqa'

NC101315 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1308 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Dear listeners, we have just received the following report:

At approximately 1415 today, the Syrian artillery positioned on the hills southwest of the town of Zahlan fired six shells in the direction of the Israeli positions in the western Al-Biqa'.

At 1400, an Israeli reconnaissance plane flew over the area of central Al-Biqa', drawing antiaircraft fire. The plane was flying at a high altitude.

40 Killed in Al-Mtullah

NC101414 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1215 GMT 10 May 83

[Excerpt] Security sources have said the Socialists suffered about 40 dead and a large number of wounded in the Al-Mtullah battles, and that the prisoners and missing number many scores. The sources add that a large amount of Socialist military equipment was destroyed in the fighting.

Israelis Transport Arms

NC101432 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 10 May 83

[Excerpts] The cease-fire, which was abided by up to the time this newscast was prepared, has paved the way for intensifying official and political contacts to establish calm and stability in a comprehensive and definite way. Reports received by various security authorities did not include any significant incidents in various Lebanese areas.

Israeli tank and artillery transporters were seen passing through the Ad-Damur Road toward the north carrying large quantities of ammunition and arms.

The Israeli forces cordoned off Mazbud township in the Ash-Shuf last night and kidnapped Suhayl Abu Harfush, a sergeant in the Sidon emergency squad. A security report indicated that the Israeli forces have released 17 southern youths who were detained last night. Another report says the Israeli forces stormed various places in Tyre and the neighboring villages, arresting several citizens for interrogation.

RFL On Possible Confrontation

NC101903 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in English 1745 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] The events of the last 24 hours have overshadowed the question of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement, and the possibility of a regional military confrontation starting in Lebanon has come to the forefront of attention.

According to well-informed sources, this does not mean that confrontation is likely today or tomorrow, but that it is more on the cards than any time in the past. Indications of this include:

First, the considerable Syrian reinforcement being brought to the Al-Biqa' and to the Syrian occupied mountain, both the regular army and Palestinian organization units.

Second, the increase in Lebanon of the number of Soviet experts who for the first time are being seen by members of the Lebanese public wearing Soviet uniforms both in the Al-Biqa' and in the Upper Al-Matn.

Third, the successive Syrian provocations of the Israelis in the western Al-Biqa' which indicate that this time the decision to start a war may be a Soviet-Syrian one and not an American-Israeli one as before.

Fourth, the Soviet Union's decision to repatriate a large number of embassy staff and Soviet nationals from Beirut and Amman in order to create a pre-war atmosphere.

Fifth, the violent political and media campaign by Soviet and Syrian organs directed against the Lebanese-Israeli agreement and the Reagan plan.

Bordering Armies On Alert

NC101906 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in English 1745 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Reports in this evening say that the armed forces of the countries bordering Israel, namely Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon, have been on alert for the last 48 hours.

Haddad Asks U.S. Evacuate Syrians by Force

JN100811 Marj 'Uyun Lebanon Voice of Hope in English 0550 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Just moments ago we were able to gain a statement from Major Sa'd Haddad regarding the current withdrawal agreement situation between Lebanon and Israel. The major says that knowing that the U.S.A. took the responsibility to assure the withdrawal of Syrian and Israeli forces from Lebanon and knowing also that they did assure the Israeli withdrawal but did not assure getting the Syrian and PLO approval of the withdrawal and knowing that there are U.S. forces in Beirut, we now as Lebanese ask the U.S.A. to fulfill its promise of the Syrian withdrawal by using their forces if necessary to assure that goal, because if the U.S. fails then all the U.S. Middle East policy will fail.

SANA: Junblatt Praises Syrian Stand

JN100855 Damascus SANA in Arabic 0745 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Damascus, 10 May (SANA) — Walid Junblatt, Progressive Socialist Party leader, has asserted that Syria's determination not to allow Israel to realize any gains in Lebanon is a natural and clear stand because any settlement or gain will be at the expense of the collective pan-Arab security.

In a statement published by the newspaper AL-BA'TH today, Junblatt stressed the need for a national Lebanese accord and said the current situation requires holding a general national conference to strengthen the position against the Israeli occupation. He also called for supporting Syria in this stage because U.S.-Israeli objectives are aimed at encircling Syria, which has rejected all the offered U.S.-Israeli settlements.

Junblatt also announced that relations between the Progressive Socialist Party and Syria are good and very strong. He called on the Lebanese authority to take a serious stand toward the continued flare-ups and put an end to the terrible violations in Lebanon. He also believes that Europe is unable to play any effective role in the Middle East or put pressure on the United States.

TISHRIN Warns Against Agreement Implementation

JN110752 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0345 GMT 11 May 83

[From the press review]

[Text] Since Syria has expressed its clear position on the contract of subjugation worked out by the U.S. Administration in favor of Israel at the expense of Lebanon, its independence, sovereignty, and dignity, many speculations are being made about the position the U.S. Administration may adopt in order to implement this contract. Dealing with this subject in its "Behind the News" column, today's TISHRIN says: We can unequivocally affirm that Syria goes beyond speculations to calculation, observation, and confrontation of eventualities. This is due to the fact that it is perhaps more concerned than all other sides with the dangers posed by the draft agreement.

Syria is well aware that the United States will make feverish attempts to effectuate the agreement, and that launching a large-scale aggression will be the strongest possibility in its calculations. Syria is the one primarily concerned with repulsing this aggression and defending its lands, Lebanon, Lebanon's dignity, and the dignity of the Arab nation. This specifically means that Syria is now in the position of calculating eventualities.

TISHRIN adds: By using the Israeli invasion as a card to pressure Lebanon into approving the draft agreement, the United States does not work for peace and cannot deceive the others into supporting its steps. The place where the United States can convince the others of its credibility was and is still the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, where the United States signed Resolutions 508 and 509 on the first days of the invasion.

If the United States had really wanted peace, it would not have obstructed the implementation of Resolution 509, which called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces to the internationally recognized borders of Lebanon. If it had really wanted peace, it wouuld not have come out with extremely strange concepts, conflicting with the UN resolutions, which do not allow any state to seize the others' land by force or to use that force to impose unacceptable relations.

TISHRIN continues: By imposing the Shultz plan on Lebanon, the United States only asserts its disregard of international will, the UN Charter, and the Security Council resolutions. Naturally, this situation requires the Arab countries and the United Nations to seriously and effectively move in order to foil the contract of subjugation and return to UN Security Council Resolutions 508 and 509 so Lebanon can restore its right to independence and sovereignty and the United Nations can restore its prestige by imposing its will on the Zionist aggressors and their U.S. supporters.

Concluding, TISHRIN says: Syria warns of the tremendous dangers entailed by signing the draft agreement. It considers embarkation on the implementation of the draft agreement an embarkation on the destruction of the components and pillars of Syria's national security and the whole Arab nation's security. This is something that Syria cannot ignore or do nothing about. Those concerned in establishing peace in this region must realize the massive danger that will result from the implementation of the contract of subjugation — a danger that might extend outside the region. They must also know, and act accordingly, that the United States is not an advocate of peace, but the igniter of crises and war and the main foe of peace.

Radio: Syria To Defend Lebanon Against Aggression

JN101950 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1115 GMT 10 May 83

[Station commentary]

[Text] Syria has defined its aims and strategy so every factor in its general policy is based on pan-Arab principles and the free will of the Arab masses. This is because Syria is convinced that usurped Arab rights cannot be restored without the Arabs' own power, and that Arab foreign policy must differentiate between our friends and foes so our Arab people may know the sources of dangers that threaten their future and destiny.

Based on this awareness of the nature of events and their seriousness, Syria adhered to the unanimous decisions of the Arab summit conference. It rejected Camp David and the Reagan plan, and it rejected the Shultz agreement because it contradicted what the Arabs agreed to at the Fes summit. Under President Hafiz al-Asad's wise and great leadership, Syria waged diplomatic battles to reaffirm that Arab resources can guarantee the restoration of our usurped rights and that the Arabs have only to commit themselves to what they agreed on.

Certain parties, which have vested interests in disrupting the joint Arab efforts, have described Syria's positions as negative and have measured the degree of positivity by the extent to which U.S. diplomacy should be appeased, and also, by opening the Arab door to the Rapid Deployment Forces to bring the Arab homeland back under the tyranny of the imperialist powers. However, Syria, which is aware of the aims of the campaign against it, has taken all factors into consideration: It concentrated its efforts to establish a strategic balance and build up its strength, which is logical and necessary to restore Arab rights.

Today, it seems that the draft agreement drawn up by the U.S. secretary of state will be the pretext for Israel to commit aggression against Syria and for the United States to directly support Israel's aggressive schemes. Even worse, some Arab states have taken stands to show that Israel's aggressive intentions are a result of Syria's intransigence rather than the fact that Syria has committed itself to a principled stand because it is more in tune with the aspirations and desires of our Arab nation.

In order to make the picture more vivid, Syria decided to pool its resources to ward off the danger that threatens not only its own airspace and borders, but also those of Lebanon, to whose integrity and independence Syria has committed itself, and whose decisions must be free of pressure from the Israeli occupation and U.S. practices.

Israel has adopted an expression from the U.S. secretary of defense's remarks on limited war as a method for its probable aggression. [sentence as heard] Syria, armed with right and the support of the Arab masses, will not allow this method to overtake its pan-Arab strategy. Any aggression by Israel means unlimited war. This means that any responsibility toward Palestine and Lebanon should also be comprehensive, and cannot be defined by stands of certain Arab rulers who are exploiting capitulation to the Camp David agreement and to the Reagan and Shultz plans as a means to liquidate the Arab cause, for which our people have sacrificed so much and for which they continue to express readiness for more sacrifices.

Arab rights cannot be restored by the plans of those who annulled the resolutions of the international community and displayed their rancor against our nation through their support for Israel and its expansionist aims. As leader President Al-Asad has said: It is easier for us to fight for another 100 years than to relinquish 1 inch of our pan-Arab soil.

AL-KHALIJ: Arab Sources on Syrian-Israeli Conflict

LD101328 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0950 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 10 May — The Ash-Shariqah newspaper AL-KHALIJ claims today to have obtained details of the contacts made by several Palestinian and Arab leaders with the Syrian leadership that paved the way for the important meeting that took place between Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad and PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat.

The paper says that Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid and PDRY President 'Ali Nasir Muhammad both interceded with President Hafiz al-Asad for convening a Syrian-Palestinian summit. George Hawi, secretary general of the Lebanese Communist Party, [George Habash] the secretary general of the PFLP, and Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, made similar efforts.

The paper adds that toward the middle of last month, President Hafiz al-Asad received Hawatimah for a long talk regarding the current Arab situation and Syrian-Palestinian relations. During the meeting Hawatimah stressed to the Syrian president the importance and urgency of a Syrian-Palestinian summit, in view of the grave and difficult times through which the area in general is passing, and the likelihood of an aggression against Syria and the Palestine revolution forces in the Al-Biqa'.

President Hafiz al-Asad agreed in principle to meet with 'Arafat as soon as possible, but he told Hawatimah that he will formulate his official position after consultations with the Syrian leadership.

On 26 April 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, Syrian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, contacted one of the general secretaries and conveyed the decision by President al-Asad and the Syrian leadership to agree to holding the Syrian-Palestinian summit. 'Arafat was then informed of this decision. He came to Damascus and the meeting was held. The meeting was described as the gravest in the history of Syrian-Palestinian relations.

AL-KHALIJ adds that the nature of the meeting was cordial and hospitable, coupled with some rapprochement. President al-Asad spoke extensively about fraternal Syrian relations with the Palestinians, and Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] gave a similar fraternal reply. President al-Asad told the Palestinian leadership that he believes the war with Israel to be inevitable and that Syria is fully prepared to deal with such an eventuality.

The paper adds: "It must be said in this regard that the Syrian forces in the Al-Biqa' valley and the Syrian hinterland were instructed to respond immediately to any Israeli provocation and in a manner commensurate with the provocation."

The paper quotes an informed Arab source in Damascus as saying that the Syrians have fully absorbed the Soviet arms and are now prepared to confront Israel. The source said that fighters from the PDRY, Algeria, Libya, and Iran are present alongside the Syrian forces.

The paper quotes a Syrian source as saying: "We do not conceal the fact that the Soviets are with us and that the friends from Cuba and the GDR are with us too."

Syrian Source on Soviet Support, Saudi Understanding

LD101041 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0845 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 10 May (KUNA) — The Ash-Shariqah newspaper, AL-KHALIJ, reports today that it has been clearly confirmed in Damascusthat the Saudi Arabian Kingdom has accurately [bishaklin daqiq] understood the Syrian position toward the Israeli-Lebanese agreement that was imposed by the United States. A senior source in the Syrian leadership informed the paper that President Hafiz al-Asad has heard good words about Syria's position from King Fahd.

The source added that President al-Asad went to Saudi Arabia to put the Saudi leadership in the picture and to discuss serious ways to crystallize an Arab position that rejects any plan that detracts from Arab security and sovereignty.

The senior Syrian source affirmed that President al-Asad's visit and his talks with King Fahd have been successful and fruitful and have achieved their full objectives.

Explaining the Syrian move in the Arab arena, the source said that we have been encouraged by the Lebanese position as stated by Lebanese President Amin al-Jumayyil, who rejected anything that would harm Lebanon's sovereignty, and we have placed all our weight behind the nine-point position declared by Lebanese Foreign Minister Elie Salim. However, we were surprised by official Lebanon's declaration of approval of a plan that would detract from Lebanon's sovereignty and pose a most serious threat to the security of the Palestine revolution, the Syrian revolution, and the Arab nation.

The source said, we are now a target, and for this reason, we call on every sincere Arab to declare in these critical moments his principled stand of rejection of the logic of American and Israeli hegemony.

"In 1975," the source said, "The Americans told us, we will restore the Golan to you without any direct negotiations with Israel. But we rejected the American offer because we place the question of Palestine above all other questions."

"The Soviets stand by Syria with their weight and they have supplied us with extremely sophisticated arms and equipment which cannot be affected by Israeli and American technology," the source said. These arms and hardware are accompanied by a complete Soviet military crew, the source said, and this Soviet position constitutes an interception [ta'rrudan] of the United States and Israel in the Middle East.

The source said that we can only thank the Soviets for their attitude of support for Syria's security, particularly because the Soviets have granted us huge financial facilities and we are paying for the arms with Syrian products.

In conclusion, the source said, we cannot permit the Israeli flag to fly over Syrian territory, and our people will sacrifice precious blood to frustrate any Israeli aggression. "We must deal a strong blow to Israel to break its arrogance and strength and to impose on it the Arab conditions for a just settlement of the Palestine question, fulfilling the full objectives of the Palestine people."

Conditions for Accepting Agreement Reported
JN101820 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1700 GMT 10 May 83

[Telephone dispatch by Radio Monte Carlo Damascus correspondent Louis Faris — live or recorded]

[Text] Today, the Phalangist radio broadcast a report in which it claimed that Syria has three conditions for its acceptance of the Lebanese-Israeli draft agreement: The ADF must be paid $160 million; there should be an unlimited presence [wujud ghayr muhaddad] in the Al-Biqa' region [sentence as heard]; and a Lebanese-Syrian security agreement should be concluded. Damascus has denounced this report as part of the propaganda campaign against Syria and its pan-Arab stance. Syrian Information Minister Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad described the report a. atter nonsense. He asserted that the Lebanese-Israeli draft a_ cement is tantamount to a contract of subjugation to Israel.

Diplomats here say that they do not expect the Syrian position to change in the foreseeable future.

Today, President Hafiz al-Asad received a delegation of the Lebanese Amal Movement led by Dr Nabih Barri and discussed Lebanese affairs. Earlier, Walid Junblatt, leader of the Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party, in an interview with the Syrian newspaper AL-BA'TH, voiced support for the Syrian stand on the draft agreement. In this interview, Junblatt criticized Lebanese President Amin al-Jumayyil. He said Lebanon should stop the negotiations with Israel and submit the issue of Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon to the UN Security Council.

On another level, PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat left Damascus for Tunis today before a second meeting with President Hafiz al-Asad which was expected by Palestinian sources. Sources close to 'Arafat told our radio that Abu 'Ammar, who fully supports the Syrian stand, will return to Damascus as soon as possible to resume his meetings with President al-Asad and the Syrian leadership.

In a report from Damascus, the Palestinian news agency, WAFA, said that the Israeli invasion forces have started to build a fourth Israeli military airbase in Lebanon. It added that the enemy forces began to transform the (Ar-Rashid) Hills area in the Al-Biqa' region into a military airbase and seven excavators were seen leveling the ground there. WAFA said that the Israeli forces brought a radar network into the area and began installing it in the Kamid al-Lawz area.

Hafiz al-Asad Receives Amal Movement Delegation
JN101347 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1340 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Damascus, 10 May (SANA) — This afternoon President Hafiz al-Asad received a delegation of the Amal Movement led by its leader Nabih Barri, and comprising Dr Ghassan Saylani, Zakariyah Hamzah, and Mahmud al-Faqih.

Khaddam Briefs Meeting on Political Situation
JN101217 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1115 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Damascus — Comrade Muhammad Zuhayr Mashariqah, assistant secretary of the Ba'th Party Regional Command, chaired the periodic meeting of the comrade secretaries of the Ba'th Party branches, the governors, and the heads of the universities and central popular organizations. Some comrade members of the Party's Regional Command and the competent ministers attended the meeting.

After welcoming the conferees, Comrade Mashariqah stressed the importance of the meeting in dealing with those topics relating to the provinces' party and administrative affairs with the aim of expediting work in all fields in a manner that will bolster our steadfast country's militant march in implementing the resolutions adopted by the party congresses, the Central Committee, and comrade leader Hafiz al-Asad's directives. The meeting also aims at advising the conferees regarding the latest political developments in the region.

'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, then spoke about the Arab and international political situation and the attempt of the United States and Israel to impose their liquidatory and capitulatory schemes on the Arab nation, in coordination with pro-U.S. regimes, after they had committed an aggression against Lebanon. This attempt, he said, aims at liquidating the Palestinian issue and spreading U.S. hegemony in the Arab region.

Comrade Khaddam stressed that our steadfast country, under Comrade Hafiz al-Asad's leadership, will continue its confrontation of all schemes, plans, and agreements that detract from Arab sovereignty over Arab lands and harm the pan-Arab security of both Syria and the Arab nation until it repulses aggression and

guarantees the liberation of the occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the Palestinian Arab people's national rights.

The conferees then resumed their discussion of the topics listed on their agenda.

Hungarian Party Delegation Arrives 9 May

JN092024 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 2010 GMT 9 May 83

[Text] Damascus, 9 May (SANA) — A delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party arrived here this evening on a visit of several days. The delegation is led by Matyas Szuros, member of the party Central Committee and head of the foreign relations office.

While here, the delegation will hold party and political talks and become acquainted with the economic accomplishments achieved in the country under the revolution of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, which aims to build a unified socialist Arab community.

Party Official Receives Szuros

JN102104 Damascus SANA in Arabic 2020 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Damascus, 10 May (SANA) — Comrade Muhammad Haydar, member of the Ba'th Party National Command and director of the Party's foreign relations office, today received the Hungarian delegation led by Matyas Szuros, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee and head of the foreign relations office currently visiting Syria at the Ba'th Party National Command's invitation.

The two sides reviewed the international political situation in general and the Arab situation in particular. Viewpoints were identical on all issues discussed. Comrade Szuros reaffirmed the support of the Hungarian people, party, and government for Syria's stands and its steadfastness in confronting imperialism and Zionism and their expansionist ambitions in the Arab region.

Syrian Artillery Reportedly Shells IDF Positions

Lebanese Military Reports Shelling

TA101451 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1443 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Lebanese military sources report that Syrian artillery fired at Israeli positions today, 10 km south of Zahlah. The artillery fired from Syrian positions on the hills near Zahlah. Six shells were fired at 1415 local time at the highway near (Bi'r Ilyas) where the Israeli positions are situated.

It has also been reported that an IDF military aircraft flew over the Al-Biqa' region of Lebanon this morning. Local correspondents reported that Syrians and terrorist antiaircraft batteries opened fire at it.

Neither of these two reports has been confirmed by any other source.

IDF Spokesman Denies Report

TA101611 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1600 GMT 10 May 83

[Excerpt] The IDF spokesman has denied the report broadcast on the Voice of Lebanon alleging that there was an artillery duel between the IDF and Syrian forces this afternoon in the Lebanese Al-Biqa'.

The broadcast reported that the Syrians began shooting and shelling IDF positions in the Jabal al-Baruk and the 'Ammiq areas.

More on Reaction To Lebanon Agreement Proposal

Shamir Presents Cabinet Position

TA110939 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0905 GMT 11 May 83

[Address at Knesset plenum by Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir presenting proposed agreement with Lebanon on behalf of Cabinet — live]

[Text] Mr Speaker, [several words indistinct due to superimposed explanation by announcer that Shamir is at podium presenting the cabinet's position]... which was liberated and unified 16 years ago today. The spirit in which that crucial decision to liberate Jerusalem was made and implemented should serve as our guideline these days, too, when we are obligated to make crucial decisions pertaining to our security and international standing.

Knesset Members, on 6 June 1982 the IDF launched the Peace for Galilee Operation. The purpose of the operation was to remove the terrorists from Israel's northern border and to eliminate the military-terrorist infrastructure that had been established on Lebanese soil in order to attack Israel and wreak havoc and destruction there. These goals were achieved. After the IDF completed its military mission bravely, with resourcefulness and at the heavy price of many and dear sacrifices, we were obliged to conduct negotiations with the Government of Lebanon in order to reach an agreement that would provide official and lasting validity to the outcome of the military operation and would make it possible to evacuate the IDF from Lebanon and prevent the return of the situation that prevailed in southern Lebanon prior to June of 1982.

That necessity, and the same logic that made the Peace for Galilee a necessity, today requires that it be upheld by way of an agreement that will be signed in the next few days between Israel and Lebanon, with the participation of the United States. The agreement is the only way to maintain the operations results and to evacuate the IDF from Lebanon.

What was the situation in Lebanon prior to the Peace for Galilee Operation? More than 20,000 armed Palestinian terrorists were deployed on Lebanese soil in addition to a few thousand militiamen. They had nearly 100 tanks, 120 armored personnel carriers, many hundreds of cannons, Katyushas, and antitank and antiaircraft missiles plus vast caches of all kinds of arms which were discovered by our soldiers after the ouster of the terrorists.

In the course of the battles, more than 7,000 terrorists — including foreign terrorists and mercenaries — were wounded by our soldiers. At the end of the siege of West Beirut, nearly 11,000 terrorists left it. In the more than 15 years of deployment and entrenching on Lebanese territory, the terrorist organizations established a military-terrorist infrastructure of an economic and civilian nature that encompassed all walks of life and every aspect of everyday living. They cruelly attacked the Christian and Muslim Lebanese population alike, and in fact liquidated the existing system of the Lebanese administration, replacing it with a pirate state that gradually turned into an international center of terrorism and constituted a serious threat to Israel's safety to the northern part of Israel and the life of its citizens.

Syria, which never accepted the independent existence of Lebanon, exploited the chaos that was caused by the terrorists to invade Lebanon in 1976 under the pretext of making peace and intervening between the rivals. Even since then, it has taken control of large portions of the country, established a conquering regime, trod mercilessly upon the remnants of the Lebanese sovereignty, and sheltered and shielded the terrorist organizations that acted against us from southern Lebanon. The Peace for Galilee Operation abolished that state of affairs totally. The terrorist infrastructure was destroyed, and the power of ruling the country went back to the hands of the Lebanese. Beirut once again resumed functioning.

Mr Speaker, at the outset of the operation, we announced that we were not fighting against Lebanon or its people. We have no territorial differences of opinion whatsoever with Lebanon. We do not covet even 1 inch of its soil. Our army entered Lebanese territory in order to remove the terrorists, who took advantage of the weakness of the Lebanese state in order to turn it into a base for the destruction of Israel. Lebanon's tragic feebleness aided our enemies and acted against our security interests. In order to safeguard and guarantee these interests, we were obligated to reach an agreement [heskem] with the sovereign Lebanese administration, which has just now recovered and stood up on its

own feet, with the hope that it would grow stronger with time because of Lebanese willpower, and with the help of its friends in the free world.

It is presently clear to all that Israel will not accept the takeover of Lebanon by foreign elements, elements that would try once again to turn it into an anti-Israel base. This is a joint Israeli and Lebanese interest and defending it requires cooperation between the two countries and two nations. The contacts with the Lebanese Government for the sake of attaining an arrangement [hesder] that would lead to the withdrawal of all the foreign forces began, with the participation of the United States, at the end of September 1982, after the new administration headed by President Amin al-Jumayyil took power. On 13 October 1982 the Israeli Cabinet met to decide on the basic guidelines for the arrangement that should be obtained through negotiations.

Before the official negotiations actually began, we encountered difficulties when the Lebanese Government, pressured by various Arab elements, insisted that the negotiations be conducted within the framework of the armistice committee, which from our standpoint was long defunct. Furthermore, there were even attempts to impart to the negotiations only a military character, but these attempts were rejected by us. Finally, at the end of December 1982, the Israeli and Lebanese delegations met in Khaldah, with the participation of a U.S. delegation. The delegations were headed by senior officials from the political echelon.

After that session 35 additional meetings were subsequently held, alternating between Khaldah, Qiryat Shemona, and Netanya. The negotiations were long and complex, but they nevertheless were conducted in a good spirit and with understanding and cooperation between the members of the delegation. The U.S. participation in the deliberations was energetic and active, and besides the members of the official delegation, the U.S. President dispatched a special representative — Philip Habib — entrusted with the mission of accelrating and advancing the negotiations by way of frequent contacts with Israel, Lebanon, and the neighboring countries.

During this period government-level meetings were held with the United States in October 1982 and March 1983, whose main aim was to present our position and guarantee the maximum degree of coordination of positions on the Lebanese issue. It became clear in those contacts that there was an identity of interests between the United States and Israel in regard to Lebanon, and the U.S. Administration gave public manifestations of this. The contacts we held and the understanding that was reached contributed greatly to the dissipation of the differences of opinion and misunderstanding that prevailed between us and the United States as the campaign was going on. We reached the understanding that it was necessary to obtain an official agreement between Israel and Lebanon that would pave the road to the rehabilitation of Lebanon's independence and sovereignty, that would lead to the quick withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, and would guarantee the safety and wellbeing of Galilee and the Israeli-Lebanese border.

Secretary of State George Shultz came to this region at the end of last month in a bid to promote the negotiations and help bring them to a successful conclusion. It was the secretary's first visit to the Middle East in his current position, and this demonstrates the degree of importance the United States attributes to the subject. We received the secretary's mission gladly and willingly. Although the lion's share of the text of the agreement had already been concluded and formulated between the two sides, substantial differences of opinion still remained on a small number of issues to which we attached great importance.

The concerted negotiations with Secretary Shultz yielded favorable results, and last Friday, on 6 May 1983, the Cabinet approved the draft agreement in principle, together with a demand [derisha] for clarifications on a few issues. The agreement achieved is still not a formal peace treaty between Israel and Lebanon, but it stipulates first and foremost the termination of the state of war between Israel and Lebanon. The parties undertake to mutually honor each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and their political independence. They undertake to avoid all hostile propaganda against each other, and most importantly in the present circumstances, prevent the use of the territory of one country for terrorist activity against the other country.

According to the agreement, a liaison and mutual representation will be established to supervise the implementation of the agreement's military and civilian clauses. As part of that framework, an Israeli representation — unofficial at this stage — will be set up in Beirut.

On the civilian plane, there will be ties in various spheres, including the transfer of goods and persons on both directions. Six months after the IDF'swithdrawal from Lebanon, negotiations will begin on agreements that will formally regulate, by way of international agreements, the subjects of the transfer of goods and persons between the two countries, which up to that date will have taken place in practice.

The security arrangements agreed upon between us and Lebanon are founded on two basic principles: first, the demilitarization of all of Lebanon of terrorists and Syrian Army personnel; and second, cooperation between the armies and the security forces of Israel and Lebanon for the sake of maintaining security in the security zone established in southern Lebanon extending 40 to 45 km from the Lebanese-Israeli border.

There never has been, nor is there now, any alternative to this solution involving cooperation. It was impossible to maintain in that region a long-standing conquering regime, while on the other hand it is clear to us that the Lebanese Army, currently rehabilitating itself, will still be unable to maintain security in that region by itself for a number of years to come. Therefore, the only solution was to have constant and daily cooperation between Lebanon and Israel. This cooperation was manifest in a complex system of arrangements [hesderim] whose purpose is to make sure that terrorists do not return to southern Lebanon. These took the form of, for example, joint patrols, common operation centers, certain liaison arrangements, and the like. The local forces in southern Lebanon, or what are called Haddad's forces, which have for years fought against the terrorists, will be incorporated into the Lebanese Army and will constitute the nucleus of the force that will maintain security in the region. A joint committee

for the security arrangements will supervise the system of cooperation that will be set up as a result of the agreement. Special limitations will apply to the security region in the military sphere, and there will be special arrangements there aimed at preventing the reestablishment of a terrorist infrastructure.

The withdrawal of the Israeli forces to the international border is conditional upon the return of all the prisoners and missing-in-action as well as the bodies of the Israeli victims held by the PLO and the Syrians, as well as upon the full withdrawal of the terrorists and the Syrians from the entire territory of Lebanon. If these conditions are not fulfilled, the agreement will be considered suspended [mush'he] and Israel will be at liberty to act according to its considerations and in accordance with its own interests.

These are the basics of the agreement between Israel and Lebanon. It establishes a framework of relations and security arrangements which are the most reasonable that could be attained under the given circumstances. If things develop positively — and we all hope that this indeed is what will happen — this agreement will soon open a new era of free and full coexistence and good-neighborly relations, mutual security between Israel and Lebanon. If, God forbid, things take a different course and it becomes impossible to prevent a threat to Israel, Israel will be free to act according to its own interests.

Together with the United States, which was a full partner to this agreement, and with the support of all those truly interested in peace and stability in the Middle East, we are hoping — and hoping heartily — that things will indeed develop in a positive way for the benefit of Lebanon and its people, for the good of the relations between it and Israel, for the wellbeing of our citizens in the Galilee and all over the country, and for the promotion of peace throughout the entire region.

In deciding to approve this agreement in principle, the Government of Israel proved to its neighbors and the countries of the world that it is fulfilling and will fulfill what it stated at the outset of the operation. During the negotiating period, many countries came out with strong accusations against us, charging us with deliberately prolonging the negotiations in order to remain in Lebanon forever. All of our explanations and reasoning were to no avail. Yet today it is obvious to all that these were all vain charges and mere slander. It was proved beyond any doubt that Israel is always ready to undertake exceptional afforts, and even undertake risks at times, in order to advance the region toward a life of peace and coexistence.

This agreement, whose purpose is the establishment of a Lebanon free of Syrian and PLO control and the maintenance of good-neighborly relations with Israel, was achieved through the joint efforts of Israel, Lebanon, and the United States, and it expresses the identity of goals and interests shared by these three countries. Nevertheless, this agreement is not aimed at any other country, and Syria's extremist proclamations are devoid of any factual basis. We are hoping that the firm determination of Lebanon and Israel, with the support of the United States, to sustain the agreement will convince Syria that it must remove its army from Lebanon, let Lebanon live its own life, and allow all the inhabitants of the region to live in peace and tranquillity.

The conditions of the agreement will be tested in the reality that will be established in the security zone and in all of Lebanon. The citizens of Israel and the inhabitants of Galilee can rest assured that everything will be done so that the security achieved in the north will prevail and will not be violated. We have the means and the power to do that. We will, even today, hold deliberations on a number of clauses over which the Cabinet requested clarifications in its decision of 6 May. We hope that the agreement will be signed in the next few days.

We call upon the Government of Lebanon and its people not to shy away or be deterred, but rather to continue to march along the path of peace and coexistence because there is no other way for a safe and honorable existence for Lebanon.

We hope that Syria, too, in spite of the inflamatory and slanderous remarks, will prefer to opt for the road of stability and will fulfill its commitment, as pledged a number of times, to withdraw its army from Lebanese soil.

Mr Speaker, the IDF carried out a glorious campaign in Lebanon. It should be brought back home. The proposed agreement paves the road for that and guarantees the abolition of the reasons that made the campaign necessary. That is why it should be accepted and supported.

Clarifications, Syrian Intentions Assessed

TA101525 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1510 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Jerusalem is waiting for clarifications from Beirut, including clarifications on the reaction there to the evacuation of the Soviets and the ongoing Syrian pressures. Philip Habib has arrived in Jerusalem, and apparently has all the required clarifications. Here is a report on the Israeli reaction to the latest development by our correspondent Amnon Nadav:

[Nadav — live] Israel is taking all the precautionary measures, but it definitely has no interest in war with Syria or in the resumption of the battles in Lebanon, sources in Jerusalem emphasized this evening. That is why the reactions are extremely cautious, in an attempt to try as much as possible to prevent the exacerbation of the tension that has been created in the area.

Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir said today that the assessment is that the evacuation of the Soviets from Beirut was intended to pressure the Lebanese into not approving or signing the agreement.

Right now in Jerusalem, the Foreign Ministry is anticipating the clarifications U.S. envoy Philip Habib brought with him from Beirut on the significance and import of the Soviet move, but more so clarifications Israel had requested from Lebanon on the security arrangements in the agreement — particularly Major Haddad's status — so that the agreement will be ready for signing.

According to reports by the U.S. team, Israel and Lebanon are interested in signing the agreement as soon as possible to prevent increased pressure by the Soviet Union and Syria on Lebanon.

One assessment in Jerusalem is that the agreement may be signed this week, or at the beginning of next week, if the parliament in Beirut approves it in 2 days. Another assessment, which may perhaps be more appropriate, says that no signing date should be mentioned, again evidently in order to prevent increased pressure on Beirut if it transpires that the signing is near.

At any rate, the picture may clear up as early as this evening or tomorrow, when the answers Habib is bringing with him become known. The meeting scheduled for him with Foreign Ministry Director General David Kimche is expected to begin right now.

U.S. Wants Earlier Signing

TA110610 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0505 GMT 11 May 83

[Text] With the agreement of Israel and Lebanon, the United States is seeking to speed up the signing of the Lebanon agreement in order to prevent Syrian pressure on Beirut. Envoy Philip Habib will meet Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir this morning, bringing the clarifications Israel has requested from Lebanon. This will be the start of accelerated working talks in Jerusalem and Beirut. Amnon Nadav reports:

[Begin Nadav recording] Jerusalem this morning is speaking of the possibility that the clarifications about the agreement will be concluded by the end of the week, and then — or at the beginning of next week — the Israeli, Lebanese, and U.S. negotiating teams will convene in Netanya. This will primarily be a public presentation for the media of what is now cooking behind the scenes in Beirut and Jerusalem through the work of Philip Habib and his team. In that event, the agreement will be signed next week after the meeting in Netanya.

Jerusalem this morning declined to expand on this matter and is trying to lower its profile so as not to increase the pressures being applied on Beirut by the Russians and Damascus. Generally, all the reactions to the events in Lebanon are cautious because Israel does not want a war with Syria today, or a renewed outbreak of fighting in Lebanon. Israel is convinced that the United States will do all it can to help Beirut withstand the pressures being applied to it in order to bring to a conclusion the agreement which Washington sponsored.

After the Lebanon-Israel agreement is signed, it will be the business of Lebanon and the United States to reach an agreement with Damascus for achieving the withdrawal of the Syrians and the PLO from Lebanon, so that Israel will agree to withdraw the IDF. [end recording]

IDF, MNF Division Proposed

TA101222 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 10 May 83 pp 1, 15

[Report by military correspondent Ya'qov Erez]

[Text] If the Syrians do not join in the agreement that was achieved between Israel and Lebanon, Israel will propose deploying the Multinational Force between the IDF and Syrian lines after the IDF forces withdraw to the Al-'Awwali River in order to prevent confrontations.

In the consultations to be held between Israel and the United States on the agreement, Israel will raise the proposal on establishing the new military line. The talks about this will begin when it becomes definitely clear that the Syrians have no intention of joining the agreement.

MA'ARIV has learned that the two Lebanese brigades to be stationed in the south will be commanded by officers familiar to the IDF. The southern brigade will be commanded by a Christian officer, while the second brigade will be headed by a Muslim. It has been decided that no organizational changes will be made in either of these brigades without the prior knowledge of and coordination with the IDF, and that Haddad's forces will be integrated in the southern brigade.

Both brigades will include medium-range artillery units. Surface-to-air missiles will not be deployed in the southern area, nor will fortifications be built there by the Lebanese Army.

Syrian Demands Discussed

TA110728 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0605 GMT 11 May 83

[Report by political correspondent 'Oz Frankel]

[Text] The political negotiations appear to be on the verge of successful conclusion. If everything works out at this morning's working session in the Foreign Ministry, the sides will be able to exchange the final draft of the agreement toward the end of the week. If that happens, nothing remains but to wait for the Lebanese parliament's approval, and setting a time and place for the signing ceremony. This is based on the great hope that the Syrian pressure will not achieve its desired effect by then.

Over the last few days, the sides have been working on formulations, comparing the various versions. This has been mainly a week for the jurists. Last night, Philip Habib, David Kimche, and some of their aides met for an unofficial meeting. It emerges that the Americans share Israel's concern over Syria's political and military activity. In view of the political pressure, Habib is recommending that the joint document be signed quickly, a recommendation that Jerusalem accepts completely.

Yesterday the Voice of Lebanon radio announced Syria's purported demands for the withdrawal of its forces. These included security arrangements on the Lebanese-Syrian border and the payment of a large sum. Though Syria denied the report, political circles in Jerusalem said that it fits in well with the price Syria is expected to demand for withdrawing its forces. A high-ranking political source said that Israel would not oppose parallel security arrangements also between Syria and Lebanon, on the condition these did not create a Syrian threat on the northern border. In Jerusalem last night, it was recalled that in 1970 too, Damascus had demanded money to reduce tension on its border with Jordan. The source for the money then, as it may be this time as well, was Saudi Arabia.

Ben-Me'ir on Agreement, Syrians

TA101633 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1510 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Today Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir said that it was not inconceivable that the Soviet families' leaving Beirut was intended to put pressure on Al-Jumayyil's government. Deputy Foreign Minister Yehuda Ben-Me'ir said, in an interview with the IDF evening newsreel, that the statements emanating from Damascus and Moscow demand caution and alertness, but Israel does not need to be in a rush. He said that the agreement with Lebanon could be signed within a few days. Our political correspondent 'Oz Frankel spoke with the deputy foreign minister.

[Begin recording] [Frankel] Mr Deputy Minister, the Soviets are taking their families out of Beirut. The terrorists are returning to the Al-Biqa' region of Lebanon and, together with these things, serious statements are being heard from Damascus and Moscow. Is there anything in these things to arouse concern in Jerusalem?

[Ben-Me'ir] It is clear that every statement emanating from Damascus or anywhere else, and certainly every action that is unusual, has in it something that can arouse concern, mainly in order to arouse our alertness and preparedness. It seems to me that at this moment that what is required — what the situation demands — is alertness, full alertness, readiness, open eyes, and this applies even more so to those who are in charge of this, the security personnel and the defense establishment, who definitely are showing the required alertness and are doing what is needed for there to be suitable alertness and preparedness. At the same time, we must also not rush and not act rashly.

The statements coming from Damascus, in fact, began on Saturday, 7 May, and to this day, they are not positive statements, but grave statements, worrisome statements; but we must not lose patience. We must certainly watch to see what develops. We must wait and see how matters develop and act accordingly.

[Frankel] Nevertheless, how long can Israel wait on the current IDF deployment line until it, perhaps, decides to take a unilateral step, such as a withdrawal to the security zone line?

[Ben-Me'ir] I am not in favor. I am certainly not in favor of our deciding on a deadline. [last word in English] We will not decide on a target date at this moment. We must also behave with patience, not in a hurry. We are waiting to see what happens. As I said, it is not a matter of endless waiting. We must allow a reasonable amount of time and I do not, for the moment, want to decide on what is a reasonable amount of time. It is not a matter of 1 or 2 days; it is certainly not a matter of many months.

[Frankel] Do you agree with the statement that a Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon, in the final analysis, is a matter of time and price?

[Ben-Me'ir] Look, I cannot say that I agree with that, because if I did agree, that would mean, in fact, that I know that the Syrians in the end are going to leave Lebanon. I only wish I did know this. I would feel better. I do not know. I do not think that anyone in the State of Israel, or anyone at all, perhaps other than Al-Asad himself, can at this moment say whether the Syrians will leave in the end or not.

[Frankel] Mr Ben-Me'ir, perhaps we are witnesses to Syrian, perhaps Syrian-Soviet pressure on Lebanon, not to sign the agreement. Is there any risk that Beirut will retract its agreement?

[Ben-Me'ir] To date we have not heard any Lebanese denial of the agreement. On the contrary, we have heard statements by the Lebanese president that Lebanon will keep that agreement. This agreement is to Lebanon's benefit; let there be no doubt about this. I think that it is also to Israel's benefit, but it is certainly, definitely to Lebanon's benefit. Lebanon is not doing us a favor by signing that agreement. Nor are we doing it a favor.

This agreement satisfies the interests of all the countries, but it certainly is a very good agreement for Lebanon. It gives it the chance of a renaissance. Without it, Lebanon does not have that chance. Therefore, according to any logic, if logic works — it does not always work, I know, but, in any event, according to any logic — I very much expect and hope that the Government of Lebanon will indeed sign the agreement to which it is a partner, that it achieved together with us, through free negotiations, and this is really the first expression of the return of its sovereignty — that it signs an agreement it wants and an agreement which is to its benefit.

[Frankel] When will the agreement be signed and where?

[Ben-Me'ir] I do not know. We are now discussing these issues within the framework of the negotiating teams of Israel, Lebanon, and the United States. Mr Habib was here yesterday and he will also be here this afternoon. I assume that — in any event, in my opinion — the agreement can certainly be signed within the very next few days and, when all the other problems are solved, we will also solve that question of exactly when and how. If we have already reached this point, I assume that we will also reach that one. In any event, in my opinion, it is certainly very important that it is signed as rapidly as possible. [end recording]

Ben-Me'ir Promises Northern Security

TA091154 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 9 May 83

[Text] Deputy Foreign Minister Yehuda Ben-Me'ir promises the people of the north that Israel will protect their safety. The deputy foreign minister was interviewed by David Essing, who asked him what Israel's reaction would be if the agreement with Lebanon does not hold, and the northern towns and villages are again shelled:

[Begin Ben-Me'ir recording] I am crediting the Government of Lebanon with good faith. I believe they are signing the agreement in good faith. I believe they have every intention of keeping it. So I say therefore in a hypothetical sense, and I am sure they will keep it, but if God forbid Lebanon should not meet fully her clear, iron-clad commitment under this agreement to prevent any hostile action whatsoever from anywhere in her soil against

Israel, I don't think that anyone doubts that Israel will then be free to undertake whatever action will be necessary to see to it that there will be no such attacks against Israel.

And I am sure that our citizens in the north, who suffered a lot and who suffered for many years and who showed great courage, and I think that we all must admire and respect them, and we all must understand their concern and sympathize with their concern, because these were people who every day sent their children to school not knowing whether they would come back safely. But I want them to know — I mean I feel they should know — that the Government of Israel — as I say — is totally, fully committed to guarantee that this will not happen again. [end recording]

Tamir Briefing Draws Criticism

TA101938 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1900 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Major General Avraham Tamir encountered criticism from coalition and opposition members when he briefed the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee today on the military aspects of the agreement with Lebanon. More details from our Knesset reporter Jack Katzenell.

[Katzenell] It will be 2 years before the Lebanese Army is strong enough to cope with the PLO, Gen Tamir told the committee, and those 2 years will be critical from the point of view of preventing the return of the terrorists to southern Lebanon. But the general's presentation of the military aspects of the draft agreement was generally upbeat and some members of the committee took exception to this.

Your presentation has too many exclamation marks and not enough question marks, said Ge'ula Kohen of the right-wing Tehiya Party. You are not skeptical enough, general. The Multinational Force (MNF) is not a safety valve; it is a buffer. The United States has no idea what security in Lebanon means.

Hayim Bar-Lev, of the Labor opposition, said: The gap between the government's expectations when it embarked on the campaign and the present draft agreement is colossal. The 1949 armistice agreement had everything that is in the draft, Bar-Lev said, except an Israeli representation in Beirut, and it is perhaps symbolic that the government is sending a MAPAINIK there, a reference to Uri Lubraini, who Bar-Lev says was associated with MAPAI, the precursor of the modern Labor Party.

Labor's Yosi Sarid asked how a weakened Major Haddad and a few dozen Israeli soldiers can overcome terrorism when the whole Israeli army cannot. The only way to bring the troops home, Sarid said, is to drop this demand for a withdrawal of all foreign forces in Lebanon, which makes Syria the arbiter of the agreement. The draft agreement is like a cripple, Sarid said, with neither hands nor legs. That is no way to speak to a general of the Israeli army, said Pinhas Goldstein of the Likud. You are exploiting your status as a Knesset member, Goldstein told Sarid, and also the dead and wounded, in order to score points in the opinion polls.

Another Likud member, Beni Shalita, said: President Amin al-Jumayyil will have to choose between good commercial relations with Syria without true independence for Lebanon, or a peace treaty with Israel with true independence for Lebanon.

Begin Quiet on Sharon

TA101306 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 10 May 83 p 1

[Report by political correspondent Ilan Kfir]

[Text] Prime Minister Menahem Begin does not plan on taking any steps against Minister Without Portfolio Ari'el Sharon for his statements against the agreement with Lebanon, which several ministers think are seriously harming the government.

Senior Cabinet ministers have condemned Sharon's public campaign against the agreement which the ministers say is intended to agitate public opinion, especially among the inhabitants of the Galilee. Some of the ministers have expressed their criticism of Sharon's behavior to the prime minister. The ministers claim that Sharon is disavowing his responsibility for the situation Israel has become involved in in Lebanon and is trying to torpedo the government's efforts to withdraw the IDF.

Most of the anger against Sharon is because he is continuing his attacks on the government's policy during his visit to the United States, during the height of an Israeli information drive there. Government sources said that Sharon's appearances and the wide publicity being given his criticism of the agreement undermine the government's credibility and its policy in Lebanon.

A senior source in the prime minister's office told MA'ARIV last night that Sharon's position against the agreement was known before the Cabinet session, and was taken into account during the discussion. The senior source explained that the majority decides in the Cabinet. However, in a democracy like Israel, a minister can express his views even if they are contrary to the majority position.

Cabinet ministers, including some senior ones, do not accept this attitude toward Sharon on the part of the prime minister and his office, and are demanding that Begin take firm action to restrain the minister without portfolio.

Fear has been expressed in Cabinet circles of an alliance between Sharon and the Tehiya movement, which would be liable to create a government crisis and threaten the continuation of the Likud government.

UNIFIL Awaits Role Clarifications

TA090545 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0500 GMT 9 May 83

[Text] UNIFIL headquarters in An-Naqurah is awaiting clarifications today from New York on duties given to UNIFIL in the agreement between Israel and Lebanon. Our correspondent Hayim Hecht notes that no official document on this issue has been received at the headquarters.

Our correspondent found out that UNIFIL has prepared a few proposals on the deployment of its force in the area of Sidon, but

until now the IDF has prevented them from entering the refugee camps in the area.

The UNIFIL mandate will end in July, and the Lebanese Government will have to present a new proposal to the UN Security Council. Our correspondent notes the Soviet Union has a veto right in the Security Council.

Yesterday it was reported that in accordance with the agreement between Israel and Lebanon, UNIFIL will not be stationed in the security belt stretching to the Al-'Awwali River. It will only be able to send observers to patrol the refugee camps of Tyre and Sidon together with the Lebanese Army.

Sources Confirm PLO, Weapons Crossed Into Lebanon

TA101209 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Reliable Israeli sources confirm truckloads of PLO men and weaponry crossed the border from Syria into Lebanon a few days ago. More from reporter Alan Ben-'Ami:

[Ben-'Ami] About 8,000 PLO men were expelled from Beirut last August, with about half going to Syria and the rest split among several Arab countries. Since then there has been a determined effort to infiltrate back into the Lebanese capital and to other parts of the country. Although reliable Israeli sources confirm that truckloads of men and equipment did cross from Syria to Lebanon lately, I haven't been able to learn whether the trucks went to one central unloading point or dispersed men and equipment at various places.

At the moment, according to my sources, there are about 8,000 PLO men in Lebanon: 4,000 to 5,000 in the Al-Biqa' valley area, some 2,000 or so in Tripoli and north Lebanon, about 600 in Beirut, and a number in south Lebanon. The easiest way back for the PLO has been across the Syrian border to disperse in Lebanese territory held by the Syrians, particularly the Al-Biqa' valley area. There, the PLO is reorganizing its men, setting up training centers, and sending troops and individuals out on sabotage and terror operations.

Southern Lebanese May Turn Backs on IDF

TA100554 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0505 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] IDF officers in southern Lebanon believe that in the coming days local residents will stop cooperating with Israeli elements, especially in various civilian spheres. These officers expressed the fear that some residents may want to clear themselves of any suspicion of collaboration with Israel through hostile activity against the IDF.

[Begin Gabi Zohar recording] Over the last 10 months, southern Lebanese residents have continually raised the matter of the Israeli-Lebanese agreement in talks with officers and members of the IDF'S liaison unit. Two major questions had troubled the Lebanese before the agreement was released: Whether the civilian contacts with Israeli elements will continue, and who will fill the vacuum the IDF will leave in southern Lebanon?

It is no secret that tight relations were formed between IDF officers and soldiers who were active in southern Lebanon and the local residents. These relations may be detrimental to the residents now that the agreement has been reached. Various elements in Lebanon, including government officials and bodies which are hostile to Israel, may provoke residents who had contacts with the IDF representatives, especially merchants, travel agents, heads of local councils, and intellectuals. The IDF officers believe that in the coming days many of those people will sober up, as it were, and try to create a political alibi. There will be residents who will want to do so also through hostile acts against the IDF even before the IDF forces leave Lebanon.

In this context the IDF officers in Lebanon mention events in the Gaza Strip prior to the evacuation of the Sinai following the Sinai campaign. In the complex state of Lebanon everything can happen, the officers who know the residents say. For the time being though, these processes have not developed yet.

In a tour we conducted in Lebanon yesterday we nevertheless discovered signs for the desertion of the Israeli boat, or at least, sitting on the fence. The residents refuse to give interviews, and several functionaries who behaved warmly toward us up till a week ago asked us to return only when matters clear up. [end recording]

IDF Reinforces Troops in Ash-Shuf Mountains

TA100711 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 10 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Report by defense correspondent Hirsh Goodman]

[Excerpts] Israel yesterday bolstered its forces in the Ash-Shuf area of Lebanon, following a systematic escalation in factional fighting there. Several Israeli soldiers have been killed and wounded over the past 10 days in crossfire between Phalange and Druze militiamen, and though yesterday was relatively quiet, military sources said last night that they fear that the shooting will start again in the near future.

Yesterday the Israel Defence Forces commander in the area, Tat-Aluf [Brigadier General) Amnon Lipkin, met with delegates of both sides to try and establish yet another cease-fire. His success last night was reported to have been "limited."

One of the major problems that Lipkin cannot solve is that some of the shelling comes from Druze willages on the Syrian side of the cease-fire line, bringing in turn Phalange reaction from the Israeli side of the line, a cycle the IDF cannot stop, having no contact with the Syrian side and because Druze leaders in contact with Lipkin have no influence on the other side.

The IDF, for the past few days, has been shooting tank rounds and small arms fire into the air, supposedly as warning shots, but in fact helping little to create a viable deterrent. Some experts, in fact, believe that the tactic is counter-productive, sparking off artillery and mortar exchanges instead of silencing them.

Where the IDF has been successful is in at least limiting the exchanges of fire in the territory it holds. This has been achieved both by active military involvement, like patrols and posts in known troublestpots, and by mediation. But here again the results are only temporary.

The experts believe that as the reality of the Lebanese-Israel-American draft agreement becomes clearer, the tension will rise. The Druze of the Ash-Shuf Mountains are convinced that as soon as the IDF withdraws, removing the buffer that separated them from the Phalange, there will be an attempt by the government-supported Phalange to disarm them. Added to the Druze-Phalange dimension is the intervention of pro-Syrian and pro-Palestinian Druze factions who are interested in keeping the Syrians in Lebanon, even if this means a continued Israeli presence, knowing that the Syrians are their only guarantee of protection.

Hundreds of Druze and Christian youths and school children joined their warring elders yesterday and took active part in the fighting. Studies stopped in most villages in the Ash-Shuf area as Druze and Phalangist fighters distributed weapons to pupils. Both sides closed off their villages with barbed wire to prevent kidnappings.

IDF officers failed in their efforts to mediate a cease-fire between the two sides yesterday morning. However, renewed efforts were more successful yesterday afternoon and the firing died down.

A senior Druze officer said yesterday that the Israel-Lebanon agreement is an "agreement between two countries, not between ethnic groups. We will continue to fight. This is a war of defence that has already lasted for 35 years."

ALGERIA

Spanish King Addresses People's Assembly

LD102303 Algiers Domestic Service in French 1830 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] This afternoon the National People's Assembly welcomed the King of Spain, who was accompanied by Foreign Affairs Minister Taleb Ibrahimi and Minister of Information Boualem Bessaiah. King Juan Carlos chose to deliver a message to the Algerian people in front of the people's deputies within the National People's Assembly.

The Spanish king emphasized the prestigious common past of the two peoples, which are a mixture of Berber, Phoenician, Carthaginian, Roman, and Arab. This makes a steady exchange of ideas and cultural, artistic, and scientific activities [words indistinct] possible. In this respect the Spanish king could not fail to stress that the fusion of Arab and Hispanic elements throughout centuries has given birth to one of the most powerful civilizations. We must base our current relations on this precious past in order to face the tasks that the world is asking of us today with determination and a renewed spirit, said the king.

The king of Spain declared himself to be in favor of a unified greater Arab Maghreb, which would serve as a bridge between Europe and Africa south of the Sahara. A unified greater Arab Maghreb would be a bridge in the North-South relations and would serve as a model for the rest of the world community.

The king emphasized his country's great interest in Africa's fate, saying that Spain follows Algeria's efforts to construct a greater Maghreb, the completion of which would positively contribute to Mediterranean peace and security, with enormous interest and great satisfaction. The king expressed a desire that this Maghreb should one day be a complex of neighborly and fraternal people that would ease regional problems and reach more satisfactory solutions to them.

Tackling the Western Sahara problem, King Juan Carlos said that Spain would continue to support Saharan people's alienable right to self-determination, in accordance with resolutions adopted by the United Nations and the OAU. He expressed the hope that a just and long-lasting solution to the conflict will soon be found. As regards the Middle East, the king reiterated his country's consistent solidarity with the Arab cause, which has been repeatedly and unambigously declared at various times and on many occasions, he said.

Speaking of Algerian-Spanish relations, King Juan Carlos expressed the wish that they go beyond the narrow framework of strictly trade links, because we would like to be more than mere clients. For that reason we cannot limit ourselves to speaking only of figures and trade balance, he said. We must build a rich and prosperous society that would guarantee stability for the entire western Mediterranean region while also helping our own development. Our desire is to be in solidarity with each other in an interdependent world. Geographic, historic, cultural, and economic factors make this imperative. We have the same cradle — the Mediterranean.

LIBYA

Fatah Member 'Recruited' To Kill Al-Qadhdhafi

U.S. Charged With Plot

LD101058 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 0909 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] A person identified as a Palestinian national was arrested in Tripoli. He is called 'Abd al-Qadir Musa al-Khatib. He was recruited by the U.S. CIA to carry out a filthy terrorist plot aimed at assassinating the brother leader.

This person has confessed that he was recruited by the U.S. CIA to carry out this base deed. In his confessions, he said that he belongs to the Palestinian Fatah Movement and that he has begun to implement the plan which was prepared for him under the guise of this affiliation. He added that he relayed the information he obtained to a "Fatah" office in Tripoli, which in turn transmitted it to the Fatah headquarters in Tunisia. He also received instructions about operations, implementing tasks, and gathering required information from the "Fatah" office in Tripoli through other persons in the office, among them Shawqi Abu Shu'ayrah who is a student at the petroleum engineering college at Fatih University, and from Mahmud Shahin.

He added that the operation was for the benefit of America and the Fatah movement, which opposes military action in solving the issue. He disclosed that there are existing secret contacts between the Fatah movement and America.

He said that the operation to assassinate Colonel al-Qadhdhafi was a political operation aimed at destroying the only voice of opposition, namely the voice of Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi; thus this operation was for the benefit of America and a matter that Fatah accepted to carry out. He added that there was direct agreement between the Fatah movement and America that the operation to assassinate Al-Qadhdhafi was conceived in order to strengthen a peaceful solution and to enable America to draw closer to Fatah.

He explained that it was decided to commence the operation during the Zionist invasion of Lebanon. He also disclosed the existence of contacts between the Fatah movement and Zionist organizations and Israeli personalities who are trying to find rapprochement and coexistence with the Fatah movement.

His confessions also stated that he began to carry out the operation by infiltrating the Palestinian revolution camp close to the command camp in Tripoli, where he attacked and killed one of the guards. However he failed to escape and was arrested.

He added that his mission was to gather information, to learn the kinds of weapons in the camp and the method by which the assassination plan could be carried out, and also to discover locations and roads leading to the command camp.

'Abd al-Qadir Musa al-Khatib has lived in the Jamahiriyah since 1975 with his family, obtained a university degree from the Fatih University in Tripoli, and has worked as computer programmer.

Students Protest Attempt

LD102151 Tripoli Voice of Greater Arab Homeland in Arabic 2015 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] The students of Misratah municipality have staged a noisy and angry demonstration protesting the base act of the Palestinian agent who was assigned by the CIA the filthy task of assassinating the brother leader of the revolution.

The student masses affirmed their undying unity with the brother leader of the revolution, the living symbol of the conscience of the Arab nation. They denounced the agents and the attitudes of complacency, treason, and subservience to U.S. imperialism, the enemy of the Arab nation.

Tripoli Terms Mideast Draft 'Humiliating'

LD110607 Tripoli Voice of Greater Arab Homeland in Arabic 2015 GMT 10 May 83

[Excerpts] The shuttle journeys by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz have at last produced a new golden egg to be added to the gains which have been realized and are being realized by the Zionist state since the evil visit of the deceased As-Sadat to occupied Palestine. The shameful agreement between the Zionist state and Lebanon which was prepared under complete U.S. auspices allowed the Zionist enemy to pick the fruits of his aggression against the Lebanese Arab people. The agreement lets the Zionists receive a valuable reward for their crimes and massacres committed in full view of the world. The agreement makes it impossible for us to call Lebanon an independent state.

There has never been in history a state that called itself independent and yet granted a foreign state the right of supervising the security of its own territory. This is open colonialism despite whatever other names it bears. Even the Camp David agreement which deprived Egypt of complete sovereignty over Sinai did not directly give the Zionist enemy the right of security supervision over Sinai. From here we can say that the disgraceful Zionist-Lebanese agreement is much more ugly and more humiliating than the treasonous Camp David agreement. This infamous agreement definitely established that the United States has no objective in its Middle East policy other than imposing its full domination over the Arab homeland by means of strengthening its ally — the Zionist state — and increasing Zionist power by constantly consolidating it with the most modern American weapons.

The provisions of the Zionist-Lebanese agreement are not new. They are the same conditions that the Zionist enemy has announced ever since it invaded Lebanese territory last summer. Therefore, George Shultz has come to the area carrying the Zionist conditions in his pocket in order to impose them on the Lebanese Government, which in turn has accepted them most humbly and submissively. Has George Shultz really come to save Lebanon and does he really come to seize the last chance to establish a so-called peace in the Middle East? The provisions of the shameful Zionist-Lebanese agreement are a serious precedent in the area.

The agreement gives the Zionist enemy an excuse to launch similar aggressive wars against the Arab states so that he can forcibly impose the peace he wants on his own terms and also impose security supervision over adjacent areas in neighboring Arab states.

The Zionist enemy may even demand the right of security supervision over some areas which are in distant Arab states after having gained this right in neighboring Arab states. The real obstacle in the way of the shameful Zionist-Lebanese agreement is Syria. Therefore, it is evident that the U.S. Administration has, with the agreement of the Zionist enemy, been forming a policy toward Syria with two objectives. The United States has been inciting the Zionist enemy to launch an aggression against Syria so that it will be forced to accept U.S.-Zionist conditions. Zionist Chief of Staff Moshe Levi said war might break out between Syria and the Zionist state if Syria does not agree to the Zionist-Lebanese agreement.

This confirms that the buildup of Zionist forces in the Al-Biqa' area was arranged beforehand and coordinated with the U.S. Administration. This also confirms that George Shultz has come to the area to reassure himself about the absolute Zionist military superiority and to give the enemy the green light to bring Syria to its knees.

On the other hand, the U.S. Administration has been using its Arab allies to pressure Syria to accept the humiliating Lebanese-Zionist agreement. These are the same people who yesterday pressed the Palestinian resistance to lay down its arms and leave Beirut. Today they are shamelessly trying to pressure Syria to make it accept the dishonorable and humiliating agreement. The pro-American Arabs have brought shame and disgrace on the Arab nation. Today they are continuing to implement the satanic mission which is trying to let the enemies of the Arab nation gain access to the resources of the greater Arab homeland.

The issue today demands more backing for Syria's steadfastness. It calls for escalating the popular war in Lebanon against the forces of the Zionist occupation because this is the only way to halt the Zionist death train.

Al-Qadhdhafi on Lebanese Relations, Al-Asad Visit

JN111412 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1400 GMT 11 May 83

[Text] Libyan President Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi has declared that he will sever relations with Lebanon if it signs the Lebanese-Israeli draft agreement. Speaking to 20 foreign reporters whom he urgently summoned to Tripoli, Al-Qadhdhafi called for Arab confrontation front, excluding Egypt, to confront Israel. He said that Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad will arrive in Tripoli within hours.

Paper Warns 'Manipulators,' 'Election Brokers'

PM100850 London AL-ZAHAF AL-AKHDAR in English 30 Apr 83 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Leaving the Field Open"]

[Text] Those who would change the course of developments in the Libyan Jamahairiyah should realise that matters are not proceeding as they would like them to.

The people who live only for the day the popular revolution can be brought down should understand that in fact they do not hold all the cards, even though this has been their belief. The grounds for such a belief are slender indeed and those who oppose the revolution are only heading for the abyss. The enemies of the revolution are finding that the people have much more faith in the revolution than they thought.

It seems that the opponents of real revolutionary change have failed to understand some basic aspects of the situation in the Libyan Jamahiriyah today. For one thing, they do not understand that the revolution is not something to be bought and sold. It is not a commodity and its impact upon the people cannot be contained as the enemies of the revolution would wish.

Reactionary Right

These enemies of the revolution, who are by implication enemies of the people as well, believe that they can carry on their secret activities with impunity. In fact they are deceiving themselves, for their actions are plain for all to see. The fact that they can go on believing that their behaviour remains a secret known only to themselves is an indication of how far those opponents of the revolution have traveled down the road of self-delusion.

In fact things are not going well for the right-wing reactionary movement. This movement's activities were exposed during the recent selection process and these activities require analysis on the part of revolutionaries. There can be no question of remaining silent about the activities of those bourgeois families and election brokers who have hatched plots against the revolution.

Certain things can be easily understood and this understanding provides an indication of what will happen to those who imagine that the revolution can be defeated. Firstly, it is obvious that the ever-rising tempo of revolutionary victories all over the world shows that revolution is the force of the future and that if it is not undermined from within nothing can stand in its way.

In the Libyan Jamahiriyah, the revolution has liberated us from all the tools of oppression which had kept us in chains for so many years. It has been the objective of this revolution not to leave the field open for the bourgeoisie and the election brokers for this revolution is a people's revolution which cannot be managed by a privileged few.

Secondly, it is clear that the bourgeoisie and the would-be election brokers have not understood the objectives of the revolution and they have gravely underestimated the revolution's determination to do away with all the remnants of the old system. The dynamism of the revolution kept these elements quiet for a while, but they have been on the move again recently. It seems they believe that the long arm of the revolution cannot reach them and that they can go on protecting the conspirators abroad.

But these elements will discover that things will not be as easy for them in the future as they have been in the past. They will have to shake themselves into becoming aware of the revolution's true strengths, as well as their all too evident weaknesses. The revolution's enemies may feel that they can afford to ignore those weaknesses, but if they continue to do so they will only wake up one day and find themselves being surprised by their own sudden demise.

The recent surprising reappearance of some worthless election brokers is something which is today common knowledge. The re-emergence of these elements demands prompt action, for it seems that there are others manipulating these puppets. To those manipulators behind the scenes, we say that they should not expect us to bury our heads in the sand, just like an ostrich in times of danger. The only things we shall be burying shall be our spears in their chests.

The Only Place

These backstage manipulators of the election brokers in our midst should at last realise that the people's congress is the only place where decisions affecting the future of the Libyan Jamahiriyah can be taken. Equally it is the people's committees which are the only bodies empowered to carry out the decisions taken by the masses in the people's congresses.

As for the general secretariats of the basic people's congresses, these bodies' sole purpose is to draft the decisions taken by the people and then deliver them to the General People's Congress and nothing more. The general secretariats have no right to exceed these duties and we say this so that those who believe otherwise can take note.

It is the task of the revolutionary committees to explain how our people's democracy works to those with empty heads and to those whose mentalities have not changed since the 1960s. We must lay constant emphasis on the importance of the system of direct democracy being rigidly achieved to, for otherwise the enemies of the revolution will seize further opportunities to undermine it.

The enemies of the revolution should be aware of the fact that we are fully aware of what they are up to and what they are preparing. They should understand this now, so that the people's congresses do not degenerate into mere speech-making forums. Our enemies should realise that we are capable of doing more than we have done in the past in defense of the revolution.

There is no doubt that those to whom this article refers will understand its inescapable meaning. If they have somehow still managed not to understand it, they should read it again. Teachers used to say to us all that reading develops the mind. It may be added that reading can also keep the mind out of trouble at certain times. Perhaps then reading this article will be of some benefit, to the election brokers in the Jamahiriyah. If they think we are going to leave the field open to them they are very much mistaken.

U.S. Trade Warfare Said To 'Backfire'

PM101529 London AL-ZAHAF AL-AKHDAR in English 30 Apr 83 p 7

[Unattributed article: "The Trade Weapon"]

[Text] One of the main weapons of the U.S. Administration which has been used against the Libyan Jamahiriyah has been the trade weapon. Embargoes and economic pressure are supposed to weaken the target country, in the U.S. Administration's thinking. As events have proved, such tactics can backfire.

American governments have been routinely using the trade weapon against Libya as a means of trying to force the Jamahiriyah to abandon its revolutionary policies for many years. In 1975 the Ford administration imposed the first of these embargoes. Hercules transports ordered and contracted for were kept at Lockheed's American factory at Washington's insistence.

U.S. oil companies have been ordered by the Reagan administration to pull out of the Libyan Jamahiriyah and even U.S. citizens have been advised to leave the country, in the hope that this will somehow harm the Libyan transformation plan. In fact, many U.S. citizens living in Libya have preferred to stay and they have scorned their government's attempts to pressure the Libyan Jamahiriyah by waging economic warfare against it.

American attempts to force Western European countries to toe the U.S. line and cut economic links with the Libyan Jamahiriyah have consistently failed. Although there have been some instances in which European countries have hinted at problems in supplying certain items, the trade between the Libyan Jamahiriyah and Western Europe continues to grow at a healthy pace. Libyan orders bring in much-needed export revenue and they also keep people at work in plants all over unemployment-ravaged Western Europe.

Plans Backfiring

American firms are now actually beginning to suffer because of the loss of Libyan trade. The major U.S. aircraft manufacturer, Boeing, which is presently engaged in a desperate struggle for markets with Europe's Airbus Industrie, has had a Libyan order for a dozen Boeing airliners blocked by the Reagan administration, causing the firm to lose $600 million. The order, for six Boeing 737's, five 767's and one 747, would have dramatically improved the company's earnings, which fell by 41 percent in 1982.

To the surprise of no one in the aviation industry, the Reagan administration's decision has been of immediate profit to Europe's Airbus Industrie, which is said to have received orders from Libyan Arab Airlines for a number of its wide-body transports. If the Americans, as anticipated, block the supply of the General Electric turbofans which power the Airbus airliners, it is likely that Libyan Airbus aircraft will be powered by a non-American alternative, a derivative of the British RB-211 being the most likely candidate.

Last February 15th, the U.S. commerce journal revealed just how badly American firms had been hit by the administration's restrictions on trade with the Libyan Jamahiriyah. U.S. exports to the Jamahiriyah had dropped by almost $500 million since March 1982, the magazine said and it confirmed that European companies are profiting from Reagan's policies. One official of a U.S. shipping firm which had done much business with the Jamahiriyah is quoted as saying:

"Libya discovered it can get most of the high technology products it needs from Germany, France, Italy, and the UK. Consequently, European-Libyan trade has increased."

From $508 million in exports to the Libyan Jamahiriyah in 1980, exorts to the Jamahiriyah dropped to just $301 million in 1982, which pleases the administration, if no one else in the United States. It also pleases European industry. The consequences of the refusal to provide an export license for the Boeing airliners highlight the unpredictable political and trading repercussions of the U.S. Administration's use of economic warfare against its perceived enemies in various parts of the world.

Promoting Trade

Paradoxically, the U.S. Administration's tactics towards the Libyan Jamahiriyah and other countries, like Nicaragua for example, are having the result of promoting trade between developing countries, as well as promoting trade between those countries and the industrialized nations not prepared to cooperate with Washington's economic warfare tactics.

Thus recently it was announced that Nicaragua plans to provide the Libyan Jamahiriyah with $7-$10 million worth of coffee annually over the next 5 years, if current bilateral trade talks bear fruit, as they certainly will. Back in 1981, the Jamahiriyah provided Nicaragua with $100 million to cover a balance of payments deficit, at a time when the Reagan administration was stepping up its campaign against Nicaragua by trying to isolate it economically.

Incidentally, this kind of inter-Third World trade is precisely what was recommended as essential for world economic recovery in the Brandt Commission's second report on the North-South relations. Furthermore, the recent Seventh Summit of the Non-aligned states in New Delhi resolved to place further emphasis on such trading cooperation, which would go a long way towards creating the new international economic order which developing countries, the Libyan Jamahiriyah included, have been calling for so long.

Although the U.S. Administration may feel that it can ride out business opposition to its trading policies towards the Libyan Jamahiriyah and other countries, it is clear from recent events that there are limits to this kind of economic warfare.

Thus it is notable that Reagan, a little over a year away from an election, has consistently avoided a campaign of comprehensive economic warfare against the Soviet Union. Although many administration officials believe that such a campaign can weaken the USSR, it is equallly clear that, if implemented on a comprehensive basis, it can do a great deal of damage to the U.S. economy itself.

The administration has therefore renewed its offer to sell grain to the USSR and would furthermore like to sell the Soviet Union more grain than the latter is contracted to buy under current U.S.-Soviet grain agreements. So far, the Soviets have said that they will purchase only what they are contractually obligated to buy, a position which has led U.S. farmers to clamour for the administration to improve on its current offer. Since Reagan's Republicans stand to lose politically in farming areas of the Midwest in next year's elections, there is very little chance of the White House trying to apply pressure on the Soviet Union by banning or restricting grain supplies.

The current failure of U.S. attempts to profitably use the trade weapon against various countries like the Libyan Jamahiriyah for example, reflects the damaging consequences of past failures. Some of the damage can be political and its effect can be lasting.

Last year the U.S. tried to prevent European licensees from selling U.S.-designed equipment to the Soviet Union as part of the Soviet-European gas pipeline deal. America's attempts to impose extraterritorial legislation on companies which, despite their U.S. affiliations, remain European firms, led to an outcry in Western Europe which did the Reagan administration's image no good at all.

Even such a staunch ally as Britain reacted to the U.S. move with vigorous defensive action, informing the British companies affected that compliance with the U.S. order would violate British law. Other European countries, like France, West Germany and Italy, reacted in a similar manner. The result was a humiliating reverse for the Reagan administration, which certainly contributed to a hardening of European attitudes towards the U.S. in trade talks with America later in the year.

Going further back, the U.S. has long tried to strangle the Cuban economy by refusing to have dealings with the Caribbean state. This has only resulted in an increase in trade not just between Cuba and the USSR and its allies, but also between Cuba and Western Europe. The U.S. is now having to look on helplessly as Cuba and European banks negotiate debt repayments free from U.S. political interference.

The U.S. has correctly identified the debt problems of many developing countries as a point of weakness which can, theoretically at least, be exploited to America's political advantage.

But this is a double-edged weapon. Bodies like the International Monetary Fund, in which the U.S. has twenty percent of the voting power, the Reagan administration has sought to impose monetarist policies on a global scale.

But even this approach has backfired, for developing countries' insistence on their sovereign rights to determine their own economic policies has, in most cases, led to a shift in the approach to conditionality on the part of both the IMF and the World Bank. The latter's American president, A.W. Clausen, is now even to be heard making statements deferential to developing countries' perceptions which he never would have dreamt of uttering when he replaced Robert McNamara.

Trilateral Summit

The forthcoming trilateral summit of the U.S., Western Europe and Japan at Williamsburg in the United States will be Reagan's next opportunity to canvass support for pennypinching policies towards the developing world in general and hostile economic policies towards countries, like the Libyan Jamahiriyah, Nicaragua and others in particular.

Judging on their past reactions to U.S. attempts to involve them in such campaigns of economic warfare, the Europeans and the Japanese are likely to react coolly to anything Reagan has to say on the subject. They know, even if Reagan doesn't, how many jobs are dependent on trade with not just the developing world in general, but also with the U.S. Administration's betes noires.

The Europeans and the Japanese have, on this point at least, shown themselves to be nothing if not pragmatic. It is not just profits which are at stake for them, but also, in the wider sense, jobs and by implication political stability. They recognise that in the economic sense at least, the world is now a very small place and that interdependence is not just logical, it is inevitable and irresistible.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Administration may continue its policy of directing pin-pricks against the economies of particular countries like the Libyan Jamahiriyah, but whatever happens they will remain no more than pin-pricks, a mild irritant which more than enough developed countries are willing to help remove.

TUNISIA

Postponement of 19th OAU Summit Suggested

LD101627 Tunis TAP in English 1345 GMT 10 May 83

["Pool" item]

[Text] Dakar, May 10, (TAP) — Tunisia's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Mahmud Mestiri suggested the postponement of the date of the 19th OAU summit (Organisation of African Unity) scheduled to be held in Adds Ababa from next June 6 to 11. In a statement he made late on Monday on his arrival in Dakar [words indistinct] he was to extend a message from President Bourguiba to President Abdou Diouf, Mr Mestiri said, in answer to a question, that Tunisia imposed no conditions about its participation in the next OAU summit.

"We are always ready to participate and what (?makes) Africa's unity [words indistinct] entice us," said Mr Mestiri who expressed however reservations as to the choice of this summit date. We belive he added, that it is too early and in order to be able to do good work and gather most chance of success for this continental meeting, it would be advisable to settle some problems previously in order to prevent a new [word indistinct] which would be fatal to the pan-African organization. President Bourguiba's envoy also said that the message he was entrusted with conveying to President Abdou Diouf related to "our African region (the Maghreb) and more particularly to the problems of the continent."

ETHIOPIA

Eritrean Leader on Arab Support for Cause

PM101010 London ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 4 May 83 p 3

[Interview with 'Uthman Salih Sabi, chairman of the Central Council of the Eritrean Liberation Front-Popular Liberation Forces (ELF-PLF), by Talhah Jibril in Rabat — date not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] What is the present situation in the Eritrean arena?

[Answer] The Eritrean revolution is presently facing a critical situation in that, since last February, it has been confronting the seventh Ethiopian military campaign, which is being conducted on a large-scale and is quite vicious. Currently, the Eritrean revolution is not being supported by its Arab brothers and friends, who are preoccupied with the Gulf war, the Middle East crisis, and the Israeli aggression against Lebanon. Meanwhile, Ethiopia enjoys absolute support from the Soviet Union, in addition to support from Zionism. This is astonishing and surprising to some people, but it is the truth, for Ethiopia exchanged delegations with Israel last January. As a result, Israel has provided Ethiopia with large quantities of arms which it captured during its aggressive war against Lebanon and the Palestinian revolution. We bring these facts to the attention of certain Palestinian organizations which claim friendship with "progressive" Ethiopia. Militarily, the fighting is currently taking place on four axes on Eritrean territory, which will lead to a serious military situation unless the Eritrean revolution is given effective military and political support. At present we are seeking, with our limited resources, to prevent the mass exodus of inhabitants to Sudanese territory, now that the number of refugees has exceeded half a million. We hope that Sudan, which constitutes a strategic rear, will play a pioneering role in solving the Eritrean problem, despite its economic difficulties.

[Question] What is the situation with regard to receiving supplies through Sudanese territory?

[Answer] At present, the Sudanese authorities ban the passage of any military supplies into Eritrea through Sudanese territory. Only food and medical supplies are allowed to pass.

[Question] What was the outcome of the talks held in Rome between the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] and the Ethiopian authorities?

[Answer] Despite what we have heard about negotiations between Ethiopia and the EPLF, we are not expecting the negotiations to succeed (Asias Afroki, who led the negotiations on the Eritrean side, recently returned to Sudan following the failure of negotiations). This is because the Soviet Union does not want a peaceful solution in the Horn of Africa, as such a solution would lead to its departure from the region. We would like to affirm that the Eritrean organizations, foremost among which is the ELF-PLF, object to the principle of separate negotiations and call for a unified Eritrean delegation.

[Question] What progress has been made in the efforts to unify the Eritrean factions, particularly after the recent meeting in Riyadh?

[Answer] National unity is a fundamental factor in solving the Eritrean problem, whether through peace or war. We are now trying, through our contacts, to conduct a dialogue with the EPLF, particularly since it represents the largest military force on the Eritrean front. We in the ELF-PLF have set up a preparatory committee for an organizational conference, whose date has not yet been officially fixed. We are seeking to develop the tripartite unity agreement in such a way that certain changes may be made to it that will make its implementation more practical. We will hold talks with the Eritrean parties concerned in order to allow the inclusion of the EPLF in any agreement and to avoid sectarian divisions. At present, we are concentrating on developing our fighting forces in order to escalate the military struggle. I would like to mention that we have received pledges from some Arab countries to give material and political aid in support of Eritrean unity, but we have received nothing so far. This impedes the strengthening of our armed forces at a time when we are faced with military campaigns, which makes us even more aware of the security problems created by such campaigns at various levels. Within the framework of strengthening and implementing the unity agreement, a joint delegation of the EPLF and the Eritrean Liberation Front-Revolutionary Council is currently touring the Gulf states. In addition, dialogue and certain preliminary steps between the two organizations are progressing positively.

KENYA

Leaders Respond to Rumors of Coup Attempt

EA101254 Nairobi KENYA TIMES in English 10 May 83 p 1

[William Onyango Report: "We Want Only Moi, Say Leaders"]

[Excerpts] Numerous Kenyan leaders yesterday said that anybody campaigning to overthrow the government of President Daniel arap Moi would meet opposition from all wananchi.

Among the leaders was the attorney-general, Mr Mathew Muli, who said: If there is anybody, big or small, campaigning to overthrow President Moi's popularly elected government which carries the support of the majority, he is calling for trouble.

At the weekend, President Daniel arap Moi said foreign countries were grooming someone to take over the presidency of this country.

Addressing a fund raising meeting at Kisii, President Moi said he had been monitoring the progress of the plot, and he challenged the people and countries behind it to attempt a takeover and they would see what happened.

The attorney-general said yesterday any foreign countries supporting such plots should be told they were interfering in the internal affairs of Kenya.

The minister for commerce, Mr Okwanyo, said: We support our president and we will not be happy with any country trying to impose another president on us.

An assistant minister in the office of the president, Mr John Keen, who is also the MP for Kajiado North, said Kenyans will not support, imagine, or consider another president imposed by foreign countries or disgruntled elements from within.

Keen told the KENYA TIMES that whoever was being groomed was day-dreaming and so were the foreign countries behind him. We are capable of shaping our destiny as Kenyans and we will not be dictated to by other forces, ideologies or even destructive elements within the republic, said Keen. He added that forces bent on undermining the state would never succeed. We will never be divided as Kenyans from the peaceful road we haved adopted, he said.

SOMALIA

Samantar Receives PRC Delegation 10 May

LD102035 Mogadishu Domestic Service in Somali 1115 GMT 10 May 83

[Excerpt] The first vice-president of the SDR and minister of defense, Challe Lieutenant General Mohamed Ali Samantar, this morning received in his office a delegation from the PRC International Friendship Association, led by its vice chairman, Challe (Li Chen-ying).

Challe Mohamed Ali Samantar briefed the delegation on the situation in the Horn of Africa and described the attempts by the Abyssinian colonialists to mar peace and security there. The vice-president told the delegates of the appreciation which the Somali people and government have of China's role in the development of Somalia. In reply, the head of the Chinese delegation expressed pleasure at the warm reception accorded him and his delegation while in the country.

Today, the Chinese delegation, led by the vice-chairman of the Friendship Association, held talks with an SRSP delegation led by the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Bureau, Challe Adan Mohamed Ali, at the People's Hall in Mogadishu.

The chairman of the SRSP Foreign Affairs Bureau spoke of the deep-rooted relations between the SDR and the PRC, saying that both countries are opposed to and are struggling against the hegemonic designs of some superpowers. Challe Adan Mohamed Ali noted that there are mercenaries in the Horn of Africa, and that Abyssinia intends to use them to stifle the struggle of liberation fronts and at the same time create confusion and chaos in neighboring countries

Radio Halgan: Barre Forces Attack Toghder Base

LD102212 (Clandestine) Radio Halgan in Somali to Somalia 1800 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] The fighters of the SNM [Somali National Movement] wing of the Somali opposition forces captured two jeeps mounted with 106-mm guns and one APC when forces still loyal to Barre attacked the SNM's Colonel Abdullah Haji Said base in Toghder region. The report from the SNM fighters adds that 15 of Barre's soldiers were killed and many others wounded in the fighting. The SNM lost three fighters dead.

TANZANIA

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Zambia

LD102302 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 1700 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Dar es Salaam — Tanzania and Zambia today signed a cooperation agreement relating to various development fields. The agreement, which was signed at the end of a 2-day meeting of the Zambian-Tanzanian Joint Cooperation Commission, will cover trade, industry, finance, communications and transport, water and energy, and information and culture. The agreement will also cover various aspects of tourism, livestock development, education, and cooperation.

The meeting of the commission was preceded by a meeting of officials of a special cooperation committee of the two countries.

The agreement was signed by the minister for communications and transport, Ndugu Malecela, and Ndugu Meebelo, Zambian minister of state in the prime minister's office in charge of the National Commission for Development Planning.

Opening the meeting, the minister for communications and transport, Ndugu Malecela, said that Tanzania and Zambia should not waste time looking for difficulties that may hinder the implementation of the agreement. He said the big secret of the success of any agreement is to trust one another and to have the spirit to sincerely and successfully implement the set goals. Ndugu Malecela expressed his hope that cooperation between Tanzania and Zambia will continue to be strengthened as an expression of the people's spirit in both countries.

Following the agreement, Tanzania and Zambia signed a trade agreement which lists different commodites that each country will order from the other.

Earlier, speaking to the Zambian delegation which called on him in his office, Prime Minister Ndugu Sokoine, said that inter-dependence is an important political and economic contribution to strengthening the development of the southern African region.

GHANA

France's Penne Arrives in Accra for Talks

AB101415 Accra Domestic Service in English 1300 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] A French Government delegation led by the special adviser to President Mitterrand on African Affairs, Mr Guy Penne, is in the country to hold discussions with the chairman of the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council], Flight Lieutenant Rawlings.

Mr Penne told newsmen on arrival in Accra that their discussions will center around events in the subregion and economic and bilateral issues. He said upon such discussions France will enter into economic and technical cooperation with Ghana. On France's role in African affairs, Mr Penne said at several international meetings his country has championed the cause of liberation groups in southern Africa in their just struggle to liberate themselves. He reiterated his country's readiness to continue to give aid to least-developed countries despite France's economic constraints.

Opens Talks 10 May

AB101717 Accra Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] The French Government's delegation in the country, led by President Mitterrand's special adviser on African affairs, Mr Guy Penne, today had talks with the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] coordinating secretary, Mr P.V. Obeng, at the Castle. The talks were held behind closed doors and believed to have centered on economic bilateral issues and economic cooperation among countries in the West African subregion.

Speaking to newsmen after the talks, Mr Penne said French policy in Africa has not changed over the past 2 years. Commenting on the ongoing revolution, he said every sovereign state has the right to decide on the type of government it wants.

NIGER

250 Students Released; Boycott Continues

AB101553 Paris AFP in French 1439 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Niamey, 10 May (AFP) — About 250 students from the University of Niamey (Niger), who were arrested last Tuesday on the university campus by security forces, were released on Monday evening, it was learned from official sources on Tuesday.

However, approximately 50 others, most of whom are leaders in the Niger Secondary Schools Students Union (USN) and a section of the Niger University Students Union-University of Niamey branch (UENUN), were still being held at a camp in Tondibia, near the capital, student sources said.

Meanwhile, the boycott of lectures which began 8 days ago at the university and on Monday at the two largest government secondary schools in Niamey — Issa Korombe and Kassai — continued on Tuesday. In fact, last Friday, UENUN called on its members to observe a "5-day mourning period" in memory of a law student who died after being arrested last Tuesday on the campus by security forces.

In Niamey, it was impossible to obtain information on the situation in the provincial towns where, particularly in Maradi, student demonstrations were noted on the previous evening. In Dosso, however, according to a reliable source contacted by telephone, students of the government secondary school returned to classes as normal after demonstrating on Tuesday.

Finally, it was pointed out, the daily newspaper, LE SAHEL, carried more messages of support for the Supreme Military Council and the government on Tuesday. The messages came in particular from the Dosso regional council (representing the social groups and administrative authorities of the department) and the Niger Womens Association.

NIGERIA

PLO Office Is 'Concrete' Symbol of Support

AB101638 Lagos International Service in English 1430 GMT 10 May 83

[Station commentary]

[Text] The Federal Government of Nigeria has announced its approval for the PLO to establish an office in the country. This was an expression in concrete terms of the government's support for the PLO. Nigeria has good reasons for sympathizing with the PLO in its struggle to secure a home state for Palestinians who have for more than 3 decades now been denied this right. It is because of Nigeria's strong conviction that the PLO and the Arab nation as a whole are fighting a just cause that Nigeria broke diplomatic relations with Israel.

The Israelis, with an all-out military and diplomatic battle by the West, have been the tool for the subjugation of the Palestinians and other Arabs. The Palestinian homeland and other Arab territories are now under Israeli illegitimate occupation. With the guarantee of the Western support, the Israelis have been defying world opinion and the UN resolutions calling on them to withdraw from Arab territories and pave the way for a peaceful settlement. Israel has even gone further to defy the United Nations by engaging in military collaboration with apartheid South Africa, which is banned from enjoying such cooperation with any member state in view of its barbaric and inhuman polices.

Therefore, Nigeria, disgusted with Israel's record and despicable actions, finds no reason to review her relations with the Jewish state. The president of the Republic of Nigeria, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, in a policy statement in this regard said: "Let this be clear, I do not think the time is right for Nigeria to consider reestablishing diplomatic relations with Israel. Israel should first comply with UN Resolution 242 and forestall her intensive military collaboration with South Africa."

Set against the historical background of the Middle East, the Palestinians clearly do not deserve the kind of treatment meted out to them. After the First World War, the Ottoman Empire, which included Palestine, was dismantled. Under a new arrangement, the League of Nations granted Britain a mandate over Palestine. Britain indentified two sections of Palestine, one for the Jews and the other for the Arabs. Britain also made official promises for a national home for the Jews in their sector and independence for the Arabs in the remaining section of Palestine. The failure to fulfill these promises caused unrest, which forced Britain to offer to return Palestine to the United Nations in February 1947. The United Nations decided to partition Palestine between the Jews and the Arabs. But before the partition could be effected, Britain withdrew on 15 May 1948 and the State of Israel was proclaimed the same day by powers supporting such a state.

And then Israel, relying on Western nations, took a hard line and boundary demarcation with Arabs became impossible. It resulted in the series of Arab-Israeli wars of 1948, 1956, 1967, and 1973. During these wars, Israel progressively occupied Arab land, thereby driving the Palestinians from their homeland.

In these circumstances, Nigeria's sympathy, in accordance with the natural law of justice, remains with the Palestinians. President Shehu Shagari, outlining Nigeria's foreign policy, said that one of the principal objectives was support for the right of peoples to self-determination and freedom from colonial and foreign occupation and for all authentic national liberation movements in their struggle for independence.

The implication of this commitment is clear in the context of contemporary international power politics. If today the world is facing a situation in which might prevails, at least temporarily, over right, then Nigeria as a country interested in a just world order has a clear duty. That duty, as Nigeria sees it, is to speak out in defense of justice and to offer moral, diplomatic, and whatever other support is possible.

In spite of the Camp David accord, the approval given to the PLO to establish an office in the Federal Republic of Nigeria is one of the ways in which Nigeria discharges this duty. However, in the final analysis, Nigeria believes in peaceful coexistence all over the world and the sovereignty of each nation.

SENEGAL

Tunisian Foreign Secretary Arrives in Dakar

AB101402 Dakar Domestic Service in French 0700 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] The Tunisian secretary of state for foreign affairs arrived in Dakar last night. Mahmoud Messire is bringing a message from President Bourguiba to President Abdou Diouf. He was met on arrival by Boubar Diallo, secretary of state for sea fishing. Here, Mr Messire talks to Yoro Mambor:

[Begin recording] [Messire] I am very happy to come to Senegal — to Dakar, this capital — almost a year and a week after the visit here of the Tunisian prime minister, whom I had the privilege to accompany. This time I have brought a message from President Bourguiba to President Abdou Diouf. Certainly, I cannot tell you the contents of this message, but I can tell you that it concerns our African region, particularly the problems of the African Continent.

President Bourguiba has great admiration and esteem for President Abdou Diouf, and has asked me to tell him this. After having the honor of being received by President Abdou Diouf and [words indistinct], all I can say is that every international problem is of common interest to Senegal and Tunisia, and that, apart from African problems, we will also discuss the most important international issues, particularly the Middle East and also other issues if possible.

[Mabor] Mr Secretary of State, much has been said about the recent meeting between King Hassan II and President Chadli Bendjedid, a meeting that others have even described as historic. How does your country view this event?

[Messire] Surely, our country is very happy about anything that can bring Algeria and Morocco together, two countries that have been divided for a very long time. As you know, we trongly desire to create African unity through our regional units. Our region, the Maghreb region, has been unable to progress — whether with economic integration or the institutionalization of long-standing common efforts at the African level. To a great extent, this is due to the differences which exist between Algeria and Morocco. We are happy about anything that can bring them together. We are working hard to bring the two closer together so that the meeting between his majesty the king of Morocco and his excellency the Algerian president begins a new era for our region.

[Mambor] What are your country's conditions for attending the forthcoming OAU summit?

[Messire] We have no conditions. We favor the well-being of the organization and are always ready to participate in a summit. I can say that we are a country with no problems. Everything that contributes to the unity of Africa interests us. For example, the only problem that we can point out is the problem of the date, because we feel it is a bit too early and we still need to do a good job in settling some preliminary problems before meeting at the continental level in order to avoid disturbing our relations, which could be fatal to the organization. [end recording]

That was Mahmoud Messire, the Tunisian secretary of state for foreign affairs. I wish to remind you that he is bringing a message from President Habib Bourguiba to President Abdou Diouf.

SIERRA LEONE

Six Embassies To Be Temporarily Closed

AB101906 Paris AFP in English 1858 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Freetown, May 10 (AFP) — Six of Sierra Leone's embassies are being temporarily closed for economic reasons, according to Foreign Minister Abdulai Conteh.

The decision to close the missions as a "temporary measure" was

"necessitated by the arduous economic circumstances the country is experiencing," Mr. Conteh said in an interview in today's edition of the government-owned DAILY MAIL. According to the newspaper, the six missions which might be affected by the closure "could include those in France, West Germany, Italy, Cuba, Ghana and Egypt."

Mr. Conteh said the decision to close the embassies was "not influenced by bilateral political considerations," adding that relations were "in the main excellent" with the respective countries.

The minister, who did not say for how long the embassies would be closed, announced the appointment of a "roving ambassador" to deal with Sierra Leone's diplomatic interests in the different countries during the closure.

TOGO

Zairian Envoy Brings Mobutu Message to Eyadema

AB102157 Lome Domestic Service in French 1900 GMT 10 May 83

[Excerpt] The forthcoming OAU meeting scheduled for next June in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, was at the center of discussions held this morning at the presidential palace between the head of state and Citizen Kimasi Matuiku Bazula, the Zairian secretary of state for foreign affairs, who was received in audience by General Gnassingbe Eyadema.

Citizen Matuiku Bazula brought a message from Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko to President Eyadema. Let's listen to the Zairian citizen speaking to our correspondent.

[Begin recording] [Kimasi] The message we brought concerns the relations of friendship and brotherhood which exist between us. We intend to let its recipient, His Excellency Gen Eyadema, be the first to hear it and he will be in a better position to disclose its contents.

[Question by unidentified correspondent] You also had the opportunity to hold discussions with President Eyadema when you went to give him this message. Could we know the topics you raised during the talks?

[Kimasi] As you know, Africa is preparing for an important event, the forthcoming OAU meeting. It is thus normal that in visiting a great president like President Eyadema, we raise this issue. And, as relations between Togo and Zaire are more than fraternal, it is the lot of Gen Eyadema to be able to give his viewpoints in connection with the coming meeting. I can assure you that the viewpoints of Togo and Zaire are identical in all respects.

[Question by unidentified correspondent] With the assistance of the IMF, Zaire launched an economic recovery plan in 1981 which will end in 1983. What are your views on the results of this operation during these 3 years?

[Kimasi] Every economic recovery program seeks to attain, or to move in the direction of, better economic results in order to enable the people, as in all hunger-stricken countries, to have square meals and to improve their living conditions. I think the talks we just held prove that this viewpoint is reflected by the fact that in Zaire the food production policy is beginning to peak. So we can say that statistics from 1982 and part of the current year demonstrate that production has increased and that we are cutting down on the importation of food and that, from the point of view of production, we are recording much better results now than in the past years. [end recording]

UPPER VOLTA

SDAR Emissary Speaks on OAU Summit

AB101542 Ouagadougou Domestic Service in French 1300 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] The head of state, Major Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo, this morning received in audience a Polisario Front representative, Ould Salek. Ould Salek, who is also the Polisario Bureau member in charge of external relations, delivered to the head of state a message from SDAR President Muhammad Abdelaziz. He also informed the president of the People's Salvation Council about recent developments in the region. In reply to a question concerning the proposal by certain countries that the OAU be divided into a progressive organization and a moderate organization, the Saharan representative said that this solution was far from being a good one. He also stated that the SDAR would respond to the call made by the OAU Committee of 12 by attending the organization's forthcoming summit meeting in Addis Ababa.

[Begin Ould Salek recording] As far as the SDAR is concerned, there is only one pan-African organization, that is, the OAU. We are fighting for the continued existence of the OAU which, for us, constitutes the ideal framework for cooperation, understanding, and the progress of Africa. Those who want the division and breakup of the OAU are the very people who have been flouting the organization's principles and Charter and violating its noble objectives. Morocco's aggression against our country constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter and objectives of the OAU, particularly the right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and the inviolability of the borders inherited from the colonialists. The SDAR is in solidarity with all the African people and supports the decision adopted by the Committee of 12 which met in Nairobi last month and which called on all member states to take part in the 19th summit meeting without any preconditions. We believe that this call was addressed to the whole of Africa. My government will respond positively to this call by being present in Addis Ababa and we shall see who will impose conditions with regard to this call to Africa. [end recording]

Following his discussions with the head of state, the Polisario Front representative was received by Prime Minister Captain Thomas Sankara, to whom he delivered a message from his SDAR counterpart.

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REF MB281441 MAPUTO DONMESTIC PORTUGUESE 270430 -- MOZAMBIQUE:
REPORT ON FRELIMO CONGRESS 26 APR SESSION

MOZAMBIQUE

Machel Reads Report to Party Congress

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[Report of Frelimo Party Central Committee to fourth party congress, read by party Chairman Samora Machel at opening session of congress in Maputo on 26 April — live]

[Excerpts] Dear comrade guests, dear delegates: The fourth congress of the Frelimo Party is a historic moment of great significance to the Mozambique people. Its importance has been profoundly understood by the workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals, and others of our country who involved themselves with determination in its preparation. Cadres and members of the party and of mass democratic organizations, deputies of the people's assemblies, and officials of the state apparatus at the various levels have organized and strengthened the broad, enthusiastic, and profound popular participation which marked the preparations for the fourth congress.

In the study and discussion of the theses of the congress, in the campaign of socialist emulation, in the fulfillment of related tasks in support of the congress, in the intensification of the struggle against the enemy, and in popular vigilance, the Mozambique workers have demonstrated their complete trust in our party. They have shown their determination in contributing to the success of the fourth congress. Such trust and determination stem from the belief that the Frelimo Party will know how to define guidelines and general tasks which will enable it to guide the broad Mozambique working masses along the path of independence, progress, justice, peace, and socialism.

The fourth congress of our party takes place in a complex and difficult context both at the domestic and international levels. The fourth congress of our party takes place in a complex and difficult context, but we are certain that we will win. The great tasks outlined by the third congress have been implemented throughout all sectors of our society. The effort and the involvement of our people, under the leadership of the Frelimo Party, to realize such tasks have served to strengthen independence and the revolution. They have allowed important advances in our country's political, economic, social, and cultural development. The successes that we have achieved, despite the remaining effects of colonialism in a situation that has been thoroughly influenced by the war that has been imposed upon us by the racist regimes, have proved above all else the correctness of the political guidelines of our party and the determination and capacity of the Mozambican people to overcome hardships and build their own future. As a result the enemy has doubled the scope and strength of its criminal activities, which are directed at thwarting the consolidation of our independence, blocking our development, and impairing the construction of socialism in Mozambique.

Our country's underdevelopment, the acts of aggression, sabotage, and destabilization carried out by the apartheid regime, together with the effects of the world economic crisis of capitalism, to which our country is still extremely vulnerable, and climatic factors have produced negative reactions in our development process and multiplied the difficulties and problems that we must face. These factors have made the shortcomings that we still have and the mistakes that we have made in certain sectors even more evident. These factors have put us in an urgent situation, in which we must cope with our shortcomings, rectify mistakes, and strengthen our capacity to resolve the most acute problems that we face.

On the international level, the imperialist activities, which are designed to regain lost ground in view of the victories achieved by the peoples in the struggles for independence, development, and peace, have led to a dangerous deterioration in international relations. Imperialist circles have again introduced the cold war climate in the international scene, while at the same time they promote the arms race on an unprecedented scale, they multiply the regions and the causes of tension and conflict, they resort to open intervention and military aggression, and they use methods of pressure and economic blackmail.

The domestic situation and the international scene determine the great priorities of our present struggle. In view of the enemy aggression, the defense of the fatherland and of the revolution assumes maximum importance. The struggle against underdevelopment, particularly the fight against famine, must take place in all sectors of our society. We must organize, strengthen, and channel the energy and the creative capacity of our people in order to solve, on the local level, the most acute and immediate problems. The strengthening of the Frelimo Party and the growth of its leading role are a vital condition for the success of this struggle. Scientific education and the training of professionals are the guarantee for the continuing increase in the capacity of our people to overcome underdevelopment and to build socialism. Detailed knowledge of the greatness and diversity of our country and of our society to overcome the complexities of the realities in each province and awareness of the country's resources are the decisive factors for the success of our work and for the triumph of socialism in our country.

When we proclaimed independence we found a backward, distorted, and dependent economy. It was based on providing railway and harbor facilities for neighboring countries. Mozambique was the reservoir of cheap labor for South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Mozambicans used to emigrate to work in gold and diamond mines, and also to work in the mining of coal, uranium, iron, and chromium, minerals that exist in our own country's subsoil.

Mozambique was the reservoir of cheap labor for corn, potato, rice, wheat, tobacco, citrus fruit, and sugarcane plantations. There are favorable conditions for these crops in our country. More than 100,000 Mozambique workers used to emigrate to the South African mines every year to produce there what they had in their own country. Portugal received part of the miners'

salaries in gold. More than 2,000 emigrants died every year in the South African mines, while thousands of others returned weakened by serious diseases.

In Mozambique the existing industry employed only 2 percent of the active population. Some 70 percent of the industry was centered in the Maputo and Beira areas. In the transport sector, most of the traffic resulted from deals with the neighboring countries, particularly South Africa and Rhodesia. The revenue from this sector was the main source of foreign exchange for the Mozambique colonial economy.

Trade was in the hands of thousands of shopkeepers and foreigners scattered throughout the country who were part and parcel of a trading and storage of goods network. From the market stalls to the huge supermarkets, most of the selling was done by foreigners. It was the settlers who used to sell corn and lettuce, needles and water, plows and hoes, corrugated iron sheets and cane, paraffin and coal, cloth and scarves, mirrors and earrings, and combs and beads.

The backwardness and dependency which characterized the colonial economy were evident in the nature of the colony's foreign relations. Much of what Mozambique imported was consumer goods for the colonial bourgeoisie. In 1970, for instance, some 30 percent of the imports consisted of food, shoes, and clothing. Some 25 percent involved durable goods such as refrigerators, cars, and stoves, and a part involved raw materials.

The colonial domination and exploitation also contributed to a drain of foreign exchange by means of the exporting of capital, private remittances, and tourist trips by the colonial bourgeoisie: namely, vacations and paid leave in Portugal. This expenditure in foreign exchange absorbed a great part of the revenue from exports and services rendered to the neighboring countries.

Dear comrades, guests, as a result of the war of aggression the colonial capitalist economy went through a profound crisis. Portugal sped up its exploitation and plundering. The colonial government was forced to divert investments and budget allocations to finance military expenditures. Trade relations were deeply aggravated during this period. In 1969 Mozambique paid for 1 ton of cotton material with 5 tons of raw cotton. In 1974 the ratio was 1 ton of cotton material for 6 tons of raw cotton.

Since independence we have carried out a broad transformation of Mozambique politically, economically, socially, and culturally, thus ensuring a new way of life, without discrimination and oppression. Today we have the Frelimo Party, which is guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and which leads and organizes Mozambique society. In 6 years tens of thousands of militants from all over the country joined the ranks of the party. We have created the conditions to extend and strengthen popular power through the popular assemblies. Popular tribunals have been formed through which the people exercise justice. We have strengthened our defensive capability, and we have built our Armed Forces.

We have developed the militia and the popular vigilance groups. We have created mass democratic organizations which include hundreds of thousands of citizens. The citizens take part in the realization of concrete objectives in the various fields of economic and social life through the Organization of Mozambique Women, the Mozambique Youth Organization, the production councils, the teachers organization, the National Journalists Organization, and through many cultural, economic, religious, recreational, and sports associations.

We have raised the general standards for the production of goods and services, and we have created infrastructures that will have important effects.

A great effort has been made to bring development to new areas of the country as a way of fighting the existing regional imbalance. In areas where before there was no industry we have built factories. Water has reached areas where the population once had to walk dozens of kilometers to find it. New schools, clinics, production units, and population centers have surfaced in all provinces. We have expanded social benefits to the most broad masses of the people, particularly benefits in the fields of education, health, housing, and social assistance to workers and families. For hundreds of thousands of Mozambicans who in the colonial period did not attend school, did not have access to hospitals and health centers, and who were not entitled to housing, these social benefits are an irreversible achievement of our popular state.

At the time of independence there were almost no Mozambicans who were qualified for the tasks of leading and managing our economy. Today, it is we, Mozambican workers, peasants, party members, deputies — the vanguard workers — who lead and implement the essential aspects of the economic, social, technological, and other tasks at the enterprise, cooperative, social sector, and state apparatus level. [applause]

Through the planning system the Mozambique workers have begun to take part in the management of the economy. To live and work under a planned system has begun to be a characteristic of the Mozambicans. This is a great victory in the building of socialism in our fatherland.

The state sector of the economy has grown and developed during this period. From 1975 to 1977 we had to intervene in dozens of agricultural, cattle, industrial, commercial, and other companies which had been abandoned and sabotaged by the settlers. However, from 1977 to 1983 the state sector has already become a product of the nationalization and organization of the economy. The growth of the state economic sector has resulted in its predominance in most parts of the economic sector. State companies already produce about 70 percent of the goods sold in the country. These companies prevail in the agricultural, industrial, energy, mining, transportation and communications, and construction sectors. They hold the monopoly on foreign trade. The insurance sector is state-owned, and the banking system is controlled by the state.

The strategic element in the process of organizing rural life is the development of communal villages and the growth of the cooperative system. At this moment in our country there are some 1,350 communal villages with 1.8 million inhabitants. [applause] Of these villages, 450 already have people's assemblies and 156 have popular tribunals. Party cells are already operating in 515 vil-

lages. In many communal villages the peasants have water supply facilities, sewage systems, sanitary services, schools, and post offices. Some of them have electricity. These facts show the increasing concern for the common good in the countryside, and particularly a more organized growth and an even more stronger involvement of the party and of the people's assemblies.

Progress in the field of cooperative production is slower. Why? We do not know. The reasons will emerge.

The support given to agricultural cooperatives was weak. It did not follow the enthusiasm shown by the peasants. The cooperative movement has grown mainly in the marketing area, particularly in the cities. At this moment some 20 percent of retail trade is done by consumers' cooperatives, which include a total of 500,000 members and serve about 2.3 million people. This achievement needs to be widened and strengthened.

Today the prospective indicative plan gives us the main economic policy guidelines for the process of liquidating underdevelopment. It has also enabled us to make for the first time a comprehensive analysis of the process of implementing socialism in the countryside.

Another aspect that needs to be stressed is the diversification of our foreign trade which has been extended to new areas, namely the CEMA member countries, with which we carry out an important part of our trade. In the field of foreign trade we must point out the strengthening of trade relations with the member states of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, the SADCC.

Dear comrades, guests, the economic and social development that has been brought about since the third congress has not been achieved without difficulties. The military aggression, of which we have continued to be the target since independence, means that our country has been continuously living in a state of war for the past 20 years. In view of our achievements and the positive progress made by our economy, the enemy has been stepping up its destabilizing actions through the armed and unarmed bandits since 1981. It concentrates its attacks on communication lines, means of transportation, and various targets in order to destabilize our social and economic life. Railway lines, trucks, some 1,000 shops in the countryside, and 20 sawmills have been destroyed. The acts of terrorism, destruction, and sabotage are thus aimed against the means of production, the efforts of the people to overcome famine and poverty, and at the progress made in the construction of socialism and in the elimination of exploitation and discrimination. The objective of the enemy is to prevent our growth and to create discontent among the people. This is not a new phenomenon in our revolutionary process. Colonialists used to bomb, burn, and destroy farms, grain storage facilities, and cattle in the liberated areas. Experience shows us that whenever we move one step forward the enemy intensifies its actions and tries to destroy, sabotage, impair, and delay our achievements.

During this period we also suffered the effects of natural disasters, and since independence such disasters have affected large areas of the country. The catastrophic drought that presently affects the southern and central regions have caused the loss of a great part of the agricultural production and the death of tens of thousands of head of cattle due to shortages of pastures and water. The drought has also increased the influx of peasants into the cities. At the moment about 4 million Mozambicans have been affected by the drought.

The 1974-75 capitalist economic crisis, coupled with skyrocketing oil prices, has strongly reduced our capability to import, thus affecting exports and the economy in general. From mid-1981 until now the international capitalist economy has entered its worst recession in the last 50 years. It seriously affects developing countries, particularly the nonoil-producing countries, as in the case of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

From 1981 to 1982 the average prices we received for our exports declined by about 11 percent. Part of the production has either not been sold or has been sold at lower prices. Meanwhile, the average prices we must pay for imports have gone up by about 3 percent. There has been growing difficulty in obtaining the use of credit facilities, and these conditions have worsened. There has been a slight increase in the interest rates on the loans that we had to obtain. The accumulated affects of these problems have a particularly violent impact in a backward and dependent economy such as ours, which is still affected by the downfall of the colonial capitalist economy.

Even today we feel the effects of the disintegration of the trading network, particularly in the countryside. The industrial structure remains highly dependent on the importation of raw materials and spare parts. These external factors as a whole have tempered and are restricting our development. However, we must take into consideration the internal causes that have led to the permanence of the imbalances and the problems that we presently face.

Today we know our country better: the diversity and richness of our culture, the regional peculiarities, the existing resources. We have formed cadres in the process of development and through the solution of contradictions. We must stress the generosity, labor, and dedication of our people as a whole and their total involvement in the elimination of the consequences of colonialism, backwardness, and dependency. [applause] We must also stress the dedication of many leaders and cadres who, in all structures of our party and state, have contributed their effort, intelligence, and courage to the service of the interests of the people.

However, mistakes have been made. Despite the fact that the capacity to respond to problems was affected by the weakness of the leading economic structures, which had not yet acquired the necessary experience, some of those mistakes could have been avoided. State organs generally had not assumed their role and, therefore, were not capable of correctly implementing party guidelines on the priority of agricultural food production. This particularly led to the overlooking of the family sector and to disproportionate demands by state agricultural enterprises with regard to our capacities of management. The lack of timely implementation and the deficiencies of agricultural marketing, which is not yet a continuous and general process, led to persistent bottlenecks which discouraged production for the market.

The implementation of small-scale projects and the promotion of local initiative for the solution of immediate problems in the life of the people were relegated to a secondary role. Only recently were we able to take the first steps to expand the plan to the districts, making them the basis of planning. Because of the weak dedication of planning workers in enterprises, plans were not seen as the fundamental aspect of life in production units. By giving priority to replacement investments, units have now brought industrial and transport equipment into the infrastructure, causing us big maintenance problems. The policy on salaries and prices has not yet become an incentive to production. We are unable to fully channel the enthusiasm and creativity of our people into the effort for the development of the economy because we overly centralize our decisions. Policies that ignore the people's role in the solution of economic and social problems persist in the state organs.

All these issues, insufficiences, and mistakes today clearly manifest themselves when we assess our development. They are issues that emerge and become clearer and more evident as the planning process takes root and encompasses the various sectors and branches of the economy. The enemy uses these difficulties to intensify his criminal actions on the home front.

Dear comrades, dear delegates, agriculture was defined by the third congress as the basis of our development. The satisfaction of food needs, the supply of raw materials to national industry and for exportation, and the organization of cooperatives and communal villages constituted central objectives that we had to implement.

The growth of gross agricultural production from 1977 to 1981 was on the order of 8.8 percent, while production in 1982 decreased by 2.4 percent in relation to the previous year. This growth, which on the average is slower than the pace and increase in the population, is manifestly insufficient. Supplies to the people and to industry and for exportation have been affected by this. Industry has not been supplied according to its needs and, as a result, it has declined in its level of production and productivity. However, there has been significant growth in the production of certain agricultural products — namely tea, cotton, and citrus fruit. The greatest shortcomings are in the fields of grain, horticulture, and vegetable oil production.

Some 30 percent of the amount allocated for the agricultural sector has been invested in forestry production. However, it has not been accompanied by an adequate organization and managerial campaign, which has resulted in weak production and in deficient distribution of wood and by-products. Apart from this, the enemy action has caused the destruction of more than 20 sawmills and has created instability among the workers. It must be pointed out that the Ifloma project in Manica has been successfully completed and is already in production. Reforestation areas have been expanded and cover an area greater than what existed at the time of independence. [applause]

The family sector has been disregarded. The fulfillment of our country's food requirements must take into consideration the fundamental role played by this sector at the moment. The path toward the socialist transformation of the countryside lies in the need to integrate the millions of family peasants into more profitable and more socially just production schemes. In fact, the support given to the family sector has been almost nil, mainly in production matters. This situation had already been analyzed during the fourth session of the Central Committee. However, little has been achieved.

In agriculture, the family sector has contributed about 36 percent of traded agricultural production. Its participation in crops such as cashew nuts, cotton, and vegetable oils is considerable. The importance of the family sector is not limited to the quantity that has been achieved. Millions of citizens are involved in this sector, and they are the greatest base of our power.

The private sector has reduced the volume of its traded production, but its influence in certain production matters is still important. Economic and financial mechanisms designed to promote and increase the degree of participation of this sector in agricultural production have not yet been implemented.

We are talking about agriculture. We are talking about the need to classify peasants. We are talking about the need to combine man and technology. Man must master technology in order to produce more. We are talking about the need to ensure a union between man and technology for the harmony and development of the national economy.

The private agricultural sector plays an important role in agricultural production. Private farmers with working ability, direction, and initiative must be duly supported. The state must help them obtain what they need for production by granting them credit. In order to give incentives and encourage the agricultural production of millions of our country's peasants, we must mobilize means and resources to effectively support the peasant to encourage him to increase his production, including production for sale. The peasants cannot be left out of the organization of the production of food crops, raw materials, and products for export. There is the need to ensure the involvement of the local organs of power and the peasants in the planning and development of production.

The Frelimo Party hails the efforts made by the peasants of our country and encourages their active, dynamic, and enthusiastic participation in the reconstruction and development of the national economy. [applause]

Comrades, between 1977 and 1981 the gross production of industry increased 13 percent. However, in 1982 the value of industrial production was 2.2 percent less than that achieved in 1982 [as heard]. This is because we did not use all the resources available in the industrial sector, particularly in the branches which depend on the importance of metals and chemical products.

In the national air traffic sector, the number of passengers and amount of freight carried have significantly grown and today are higher than the figures reached in the last years of colonial domination. At the regional level there has been an increase in the number of flight hours in the framework of the SADCC countries. Intercontinental links have been widened with the opening of new routes and the introduction of new facilities.

The political and organizational offensive launched in the airways sector has had very positive results in the improvement of performance. There has been an improvement in the services rendered to passengers on our planes and timetables have been observed. It is necessary to carry on with the organizational program in order to make the fleet more profitable, particularly in internaional flights. Improvements in the infrastructure — namely, improving the radio and communications systems of seven of the country's airports — have been planned and are already in the phase of construction. The aero-agricultural fleet has expanded its activities and today is also serving neighboring countries.

The investments and efforts made in the organization of the post and telecommunications sector have been directed at the development of the national network. Several programs for the rehabilitation and improvement of the telecommunications networks at the provincial and district levels have also been carried out. The situation in the communications sector is not as yet satisfactory and is still a negative factor in the fulfillment of social and economic activities in the country as a whole and in the life of the population.

The creation of the SADCC and the subsequent establishment of the Southern African Commission on Transport and Communications, of which Mozambique is the chairman, has allowed significant progress in regional cooperation and has strengthened the development of the transport and communications sector at the national level.

The implementation of important projects in this field — namely, the renovation of the Limpopo railway line and the rehabilitation of the infrastructure and the development of Beira harbor, particularly the coal, sugar, and fuel terminals — are examples of such progress. The construction of the Moatize terminal, the installation of the container terminal in Nacala, and the renovation of the northern railway line are other examples.

The transport and communication sector ranks high in the country's economic and social development. It is, therefore, necessary to implement organizational and coordination measures related to this sector to ensure better average performance on communcation routes to guarantee the normal and efficient transporting of people and goods.

Comrade delegates, between 1977 and 1981 there was an increase of 25 percent in the construction sector. The initial positive tendency of 1977 remains unchanged. The increase in construction between 1981 and 1982 amounted to 4.4 percent. The growth in this sector means that our country now has a national capability to fulfill a wide range of jobs and projects. In less than 4 years a chain of state companies was formed, and it involves the various stages of the construction cycle from planning to construction to maintenance. State-initiated construction programs have covered the whole country. Buildings have been finished and extended, and new installations have been built, resulting in the widening of the school, sanitary, and services network and in the strengthening of the production capability in the agricultural and industrial fields.

In the last 6 years, over 100,000 square meters of school buildings and classrooms have been made available. Some 40,000 square meters of clinics and health centers have been built, and 145,000 square meters of agricultural, pastoral, and warehouse works have been completed. Between 1977 and 1982, 3,450 new conventional houses were put at the disposal of the country, and this represents approximately 270,000 square meters of covered area. This number does not include those houses built at the initiative of production and service units beyond the responsibility of the State Construction Directorate.

In terms of the road system, 550 km of paved roads, 450 km of unpaved roads, and more than 50 new important bridges have been built as part of the existing road system. In 1981 and 1982 the annual levels of construction realized in this sector were superior to those achieved during the colonial period. The state sector covers some 90 percent of the total road works in our country.

It has been possible at the national level to unify the prices of important essential commodities for supplying the people. Some 40 percent of wholesale trade is done through the state trading network. However, the running of the state wholesale companies has not yet reached the necessary organizational level. Losses resulting from the packing and handling of products still remain. There is ineffective state control over the district storekeepers, who in most cases belong to the private sector. As a result of the decision taken by the state to concentrate on wholesale trade, there was an increase in the private retail and cooperative networks. The aim was to free the state from managing small shops.

From 1977 to 1982 the number of cooperatives increased more than four times, and the number of cooperative workers increased by five and a half times. There was also an increase in the cooperatives' involvement in the circulation of goods, and 20 percent of retail trade is done through cooperatives. There are 1,300 cooperatives with about 500,000 members, covering 20 percent of the country's population.

Support must be given to consumers' cooperatives so that they actually become the fundamental structure of retail trade. To achieve this goal it is necessary to increase the program for the formation of cadres for the cooperative sector in order to overcome the present problems of organization and management which affect them.

The introduction of the new supply system in Maputo has permitted the equal distribution of some essential foodstuffs. This was a highly meaningful political measure which enjoyed popular support. Weaknesses in the supply system in previous years necessitated greater effort in the importation of goods, amounting to 20-25 percent of our annual imports of goods, particularly grain, fish, meat, and clothing. The main policy of the supply system must be to guarantee priority for the workers. The state will have to organize the organs to achieve this. As part of this policy we will fight parasitism, and we will reward those who work. The state must also guarantee effective control of wholesale trade and give priority to the consumer cooperative network.

During this period agricultural trade experienced significant progress. With some 633 brigades and 270 fixed centers, as well as investments made in the transport sector to support such activity, it has been possible to organize the trading of a large part of peasant production. The efforts made in trading certain goods — namely, livestock and skins, cotton, cashew nuts, tobacco, vegetables, and others — have contributed to the progressive reinstatement of the trading network. However, this process, although simple in essence, remains unnecessarily complex and centralized. It does not encourage creative capabilities and trade exchanges at the local level. We must therefore continue with the policy aimed at transforming the means of trading into true class instruments.

In this fight that we are waging it is necessary for all of our people take part with enthusiasm. The priority is to strengthen the trading in rural areas by ensuring the sale of agricultural tools and consumer goods required by every area. The widening of the trading network in the countryside is a neccesity for supplying the peasants and for agricultural trading itself. The state must encourage businessmen who wish to establish themselves in areas which are poorly served by the trading network by giving them the necessary support. However, they do not want it. They prefer to be involved in black marketeering in Maputo and Beira. They do not want to go to the countryside. [applause]

In the finance, banking, and insurance sectors, enormous organizational efforts have been made, particularly in the field of the selection and training of Mozambicans for technical and managerial tasks. Today, almost all who perform the tasks related to these sectors are national cadres. During this period the state budget was reorganized with the creation of provincial budgets. These are important instruments to increase economic management at the national level. We must now move toward decentralization of budgets up to the district level.

With regard to revenue policy, a new taxation system has been introduced through which we have achieved a better distribution of national income and channeling of funds for the budget. It is necessary to continue with the program designed to achieve a better utilization of the revenue system as an instrument of economic policy. The fundamental consideration in this sector is to encourage the establishment of economic activities in the countryside.

The reorganization of the banking system has been achieved, and this has resulted in its transformation and in the creation of two state institutions and a private one which are in operation in our country.

The state has now at its disposal an indispensable instrument for the management of economic and financial activity, and as a result it has increased its capability to intervene in the national economy. From 1977 to 1982 the banking network was developed. The number of branches of the Popular Development Bank rose from 108 to 133, of which 71 are in the rural areas. Today, the banking sector is present in several communal villages.

With the creation of the national currency, the metical, an entirely Mozambican instrument of exchange was introduced. The metical has reduced the possibility of counterfeiting and traffic in currency. This measure has dealt a severe blow to the activities of the enemy, who held large quantities of money abroad and used it in efforts to destabilize our economy.

The state banking sector must now improve the quality and efficiency of its services, particularly those related to its role as an instrument in leading and controlling the economy.

The insurance sector has been nationalized and today it is fully state-owned. Conditions have been created so that this sector might protect the interests of the economy and the property and life of the citizens. The insurance sector must continue with its organization and must study and promote new insurance schemes, particularly with regard to the protection of the workers and social security.

In the framework of the implementation of the third congress' economic directives, the national system of education has been approved. It amounts to the fulfillment of the Frelimo Party's directives in the field of education as applied to the present phase of our society and as aimed at our development. Its implementation is a precondition for the formation of the new man. The implementation of the national system of education is an integral part of the strategy for building socialism. It is essential to extend and widen the fight against illiteracy while continuing to give priority to party members, deputies, soldiers, workers from the productive sector, and peasants from cooperatives and communal villages.

Giving priority to the training of teachers is a precondition for the expansion of teaching to all sectors and for the guarantee of its class character and the improvement of its quality. The close relationship between the development of the economy and the educational system calls for increasing the knowledge of the working class both in schools and at work. Improving the education and qualifications of the working forces — of the skilled workers, engineers, economists, and medium-level experts — must continue. It is a precondition for the growth of the economy and of the socialist fatherland.

In the health sector, the law on the socialization of medicine that was approved in 1977 has permitted the strengthening of one of the most important achievements of our people: that is, the nationalization of medicine. The assistance given to the sick at health centers is practically free. Only consultation fees are paid at a symbolic price of 7 and ½ meticals — which is not even enough to pay for two tins of water.

Comrade delegates, the abolition of the private ownership of land has put an end to one of the most important elements in the unequal development of the population areas that existed during the colonial period. We have eliminated land speculation in urban areas and have made it possible to reorganize the suburbs.

The organization of the rural population on a national scale has resulted in the development of communal villages, something that was not possible before. This alone is an important device for the improvement of housing standards in the countryside. The 1980 census showed that 47 percent of Mozambican families enjoy a minimum sanitary infrastructure in their houses, compared with 3 percent at the start of the 1970's. [applause]

Communal villages have made it possible to supply water to hundreds of thousands of people as well as to introduce improvements in the technology of housing construction and in the manufacture of building materials.

The lowering and stabilization of house rents are an obvious contribution to the improvement in the standards of living in the urban areas. The face of the cities has radically changed. The former colonial demarcation of the suburbs based on race and levels of wealth is something we can hardly recall.

Despite this achievement, the existing housing system only fulfills one-fifth of the housing needs of the urban population. Despite the improvement in the management of the state housing scheme that has been brought about by the political and organizational offensive of 1980, there are still serious deficiencies. The articulated and permanent policies for the administration of the state housing scheme, which are carried out in conjunction with the action groups and the mass democratic organizations, have not gained momentum. The political and civic awareness and vigilance of the workers of this sector are still weak. It is necessary to move forward with more strength, energy, and enthusiasm in order to adopt energetic measures to correct this situation since some houses have been occupied by outlaws and black marketeers.

Although housing is such an important problem in the life of the citizens, no simple devices involving the population in the solving of the housing problem have been designed yet.

The campaigns that have been launched to increase the production of building materials at the local level have not, despite their importance, achieved the results that could have been achieved. It is important that, through better coordination between the organs concerned, a simple and clear housing and building policy should be established to make it easy for the people to build houses with their own means. Then the people will like their houses. [applause]

In the field of social communications there has been a substantial increase in information and in cultural and recreation programs in the radio sector, with broadcasts in Portuguese and in Mozambique languages. A major effort has been made in the information services, whose daily consumers have doubled since 1977. Radio Mozambique has established news and programs in English for broadcasting abroad. In the press sector, new organs of information have been created, namely those linked to the Armed Forces, education, justice, and other structures of the state apparatus. During this phase the main emphasis of the press has been on foreign information.

The social communication project that began in 1977 has reached 40 communal villages and 4 suburbs. It is designed to equip rural communities with centers for the local collection, production, and dissemination of information. About 20 hours of information films have been produced annually. A total of 18 viewing rooms are in use. The mobile cinema system has been extended to serve an annual average of 1 million patrons during this period.

The experimental television system came into being in 1981, and it is essentially a stage for the education of the cadres required for the future introduction of television.

In the editorial sector, an annual production of 500,000 books has been achieved, not including the production of school books, which has reached the 2.5 million mark. More than 200,000 posters have been conceived and printed. The information Center for Graphic Production has been formed and its purpose is to train technical cadres for that sector.

The building of our information system rests on the development of the local collection and flow of information. This collection is based on the training of popular correspondents and on the progressive development of the social communication centers. The radio and the Mozambique Information Agency are responsible for gathering local information and for disseminating it at the provincial, national, and international levels. The development of our information system also demands political and cultural work from journalists, based on their social origin.

Comrade delegates, the present economic conditions make us recall the policies that have been designed to efficiently deal with the difficulties we face. The fight to overcome the consequences of colonial plundering and the effects of enemy aggression require perseverance, determination, and time. Our country still faces serious material problems. It is the ongoing and balanced effect of small and big projects that will allow the solution of these problems and will lead to the final eradication of underdevelopment.

Small projects are the tool for the total utilization of locally available resources and the total use of productive capabilities. Their success develops the confidence of the people in their own capabilities. They combat passivity and the attitude of dependency and free the imagination and creative initiative. Thus, priority must be given to channeling existing resources for the success of small projects which can have an immediate impact in the improvement of the standards of living of the people, in the defense of the fatherland, and in the utilization of available resources. At the same time, we must hasten the execution of existing projects so that we can guarantee the introduction of new resources that have been anticipated, particularly those connected with increasing exports and with changing the country's economic structure. In terms of this policy, we must prepare the ground for future heavy industry.

The fight against famine is the essential element of the general guidelines for short- and medium-term development. We must mobilize the people as a whole — the state companies, cooperatives, and the private sector — to take part in this fight. With regard to this policy, priority must be given to the rural family sector and to the production units of the cities' greenbelt. These are the sectors which will provide a short-term solution to existing food problems. The private sector must be encouraged and supported, provided it furthers our development objectives. The general objective of increased agricultural production must guide the efforts conducted in all sectors.

In the field of production it is important that we concentrate our attention in sectors that can replace imports through the utilization of local resources and raw materials. Attention must also be

given to those sectors which promote food production and exports, namely grain, cashew nuts, cotton, tea, sunflower seeds, citrus fruit, tobacco, mafura, copra, wood, prawns, fish, textiles, and coal.

It is essential that we also encourage traditional food production for the internal market. This is the case for tubers, horticultural products, peanuts, beans, sorghum, (machoeira), sesame seeds, mandioc, sweet potatoes, eggs, pork, goats, sheep, and other products of current food consumption.

The strengthening of our ability to cope with droughts calls for the introduction of crops that are resistant to this type of natural disaster and for the rational utilization of all sources of water.

It is also necessary to promote regional production capacity through the creation, rehabilitation, and relocation of small industries with a view toward production for local consumption. This is the basis for the establishment in every province of production units that use local materials for the manufacture of cooking oil, soap, and shoes. The essential question in this process is the local utilization of the skilled labor force from certain productive sectors -- namely, carpenters, metal workers, and other artisans who are organized in cooperatives. We must support their activities whether they are part of cooperatives or part of the private sector. The state must also encourage the participation of private capital in such sectors.

In the field of investment it is essential to concentrate the state effort on the restoration, maintenance, and utilization of the productive capabilities that exist in the important sectors of the economy. It is also necessary to convert a part of those capabilities, particularly in the industrial sector, into production units which make full use of national raw materials. Apart from this, there is a need to define the existing investments which have priority and to concentrate efforts for their implementation. We must give priority to the country's capacity for growth in order to keep equipment and the existing infrastructure in operation. Attention must also be given to small industries which are capable of manufacturing spare parts with locally available resources, and which are likely to contribute to the attainment of those objectives.

The question of salaries is an integral factor in the organization of the labor force. In the national economy salaries are an important component of the costs of production. The total salary fund of our country is 10 million contos higher than the total amount of goods available for sale. Such a situation does not prohibit salary adjustments. However, adjustments must be conducted in a planned manner in order to avoid inflation.

Salary setting policies must be in accordance with the principle of paying more to those who work more, who produce better work, and who achieve higher levels of efficiency and productivity. [applause] We have to introduce the principle of paying less to those who produce less, or who have little qualification. We will thus safely move toward fulfilling the socialist principle of from each according to his capabilities, to each according to his labor. [applause] In the application of these principles, the state must approve adequate labor legislation which will clarify the rights and duties of the workers and of the employers. Thus, the state will organize the transformation of the social relations of production and of discipline in work. Nationalization alone will not transform the social relations of production.

We must introduce measures designed to reduce the number of workers in nonproductive sectors, beginning with the state apparatus. The state apparatus has become the lurking place of lazy people. We must direct those workers to productive sectors. We must stop the practice of making up for incompetents' low productivity by increasing their number. When a typist is not efficient, he is not dismissed. Instead, a second, a third, and a fourth one are appointed. When a driver is not efficient, the tendency is to appoint a better one, while keeping the bad one. Can we progress like this? [applause]

We must introduce rules on consumption and on increasing the recycling of materials in all sectors of economic and social life, particularly in energy and fuel. The collective sector as a whole must implement such rules without passively waiting for guidelines from above. The duty and responsibility of local structures of power is to demand a general austerity policy. Discarded material such as bottles, plastics, iron, paper, and others must be recycled as part of the production process. The dynamics of this process must start in the respective companies. The people's assemblies, local governments, and dynamizing groups must play a leading role in this policy.

The pricing policy must encourage mercantile production of agricultural products from the family sector. It must encourage productivity in companies by linking prices to normal costs of production, thus promoting an increase in efficiency in the companies. Through the pricing policy and the utilization of the contract system, the state must encourage production in the cooperative and private sectors. Pricing must be regarded as a tool to encourage trade exchanges and to restore the mercantile economy.

With the independence of Zimbabwe, South Africa became the center of imperialist strategy to destabilize Mozambique. The former colonial bourgeoisie which has settled in South Africa remains the center of activities against our country, such as sabotage, aggression, and subversion. Those few settlers who have escaped from Mozambique are characterized by their hatred for our popular system which has put an end to privileges and exploitation.

They are characterized by a nostalgia for the colonial past, when they were the bosses. They hold out the illusion that it is possible to reverse the process of history and to recover property, companies, and privileges once a puppet government is in power.

The Pretoria racist regime, the local representative of the interests of imperialism, is the declared enemy of the consolidation of socialism in our country. They are the ones who have invented apartheid. The independence and sovereignty of our popular republic has emerged as an obstacle to their dream of hegemony throughout southern Africa.

Southern Africa is an area with fertile soil and a favorable climate. Its subsoil is rich in precious stones, energy resources, and strategic minerals. In all fields of production the potential is

enormous. Its ports control essential sea routes. Apart from this, the independent countries of the region as a whole are the natural market for the huge industrial network imperialism has developed in South Africa.

Pretoria has been preparing for a long time to claim as its inheritance control over our countries, even while arms of liberation were busy expelling colonialism. It has prepared itself militarily and administratively. It has also prepared itself ideologically by shaping and developing concepts that supposedly legitimize its ambitions. Hence, the doctrine of racial supremacy of the whites and the apartheid policy — both which are sanctioned by the Boer official church — and the constellation of states project. Such concepts precipitate the climate of oppression under which the majority of the South African population lives and is daily subjected to unqualified humiliation, assault, and murder. Such concepts are also the basis of the bellicose and aggressive policy which makes South Africa a dangerous enemy for all countries of the region. According to Pretoria, the peoples of the region are entitled only to a caricature of statehood, that is, the bantustan.

The sovereignty stance, the establishment of a relationship of equality, and the efforts to escape the economic dependency in which our countries have been left by colonialism are concepts which the racist South African regime cannot tolerate. In this framework, the People's Republic of Mozambique is a bad example to this region for Pretoria. We are a bad example for apartheid because of our victory against exploitation and domination. We are a bad example because of our victorious struggle against colonial domination; our sovereign decision to build a society based on justice, equality, and freedom of exploitation; our love for freedom and profound antiracism; and our determination to fight for real and independent development.

The international firmness of our people and their solidarity with the brother people of Zimbabwe has been a bad example to Pretoria. In the eyes of the racists we are a bad example for the South African people themselves, who admire the civilization we are building on the borders with apartheid. [applause]

From the viewpoint of imperialist interests, we are a bad example. The imperialists are trying by all means to make one believe that socialism is foreign ideology on our continent and that Africa is barren soil for the ideas conducive to the liberation of humankind. Pretoria's hatred of us is heightened by its role as the local agent of imperialism. The means to keep our country under the permament threat of direct and large-scale aggression are given to the Pretoria criminal regime, which is condemned by the international community. The armed bandits, a forward detachment of the South African Army, are the main operational instrument of the enemy military action in the present phase.

At the end of the armed struggle for national liberation the settlers used armed bandits in Tete, Sofala, and Manica, even after the fall of the fascist regime. After the defeat of the illegal Rhodesian regime, the South African racist regime assumed direct control of this policy.

Today the use of armed bandits is the way Pretoria conducts an undeclared war against our People's Republic. Such a war has precise objectives. It is aimed at forcing our people to live in a climate of instability, insecurity, and terror brought about by murders, kidnappings, maimings, and violations. It is designed to destroy agricultural production and the trading system in order to provoke famine [words indistict]. It is aimed at striking at the communal villages in order to make our policy of rural socialization infeasibile. It is designed to block roads, railway lines, telecommunications, and power lines in order to effect industries, services, and production units and thus bring the country's economic life to a halt. It is designed to spawn within international public opinion the idea that there is an opposition movement in Mozambique to give a pretext for a broader, more open, and direct action against our people. Such a war is also aimed at frustrating the efforts of regional cooperation and development by destroying the railway and road communications systems of the SADCC.

The enemy also makes use of unarmed bandits. They are a handful of unpatriotic elements — ambitious elements, former servants. They miss their bosses. Such elements are coordinated and directed by South Africa to conduct subversive activities. Their mission is to disseminate enemy propaganda and to spread defeatist attitudes. Their aim is to say that it is not possible to organize one's life through socialism. This is their mission.

These agents consciously try to obscure the meaning of the party's decisions. They try to hinder the implementation of guidelines. They try to destroy trading networks, delay parcels, and peddle deteriorated and inadequate products. They try to disrupt services and companies. They are the ones who try to corrupt our cadres and who hold out hopes for ambition and comfort. They are the ones who promote contempt for goods and technology from socialist countries.

The political and organizational offensive and the energetic measures adopted by the party and the state had placed them temporarily on the defensive. They have now regained ground. This is active and continuous combat. The country remains infiltrated. That is why the efforts made by the Mozambique workers to increase the production of essential commodities have not been refleted in our cooperatives and shops. Powdered milk that we manufacture for our cyildren is on sale in the neighboring countries. Goods that have been imported including irons, are on sale in the neighboring countreis. Sugar, salt, rice, corn, meat, prawns, fish, cloth, radios, tobacco and so many other products are available on the black market at exorbitant prices or are smuggled out, even to South Africa and other countries.

Hoarding and the black market worsen the situation with regard to the supply of goods to the people. They sabotage the pricing policy of our state and provoke discontent and social instability. Thus, they are part of the general process of destabilization of our society.

The analysis made by the leadership of our party calls for the need to energetically fight the armed and unarmed bandits — agents that have infiltrated the system, rumormongers and black marketeers, above all, those who disrupt the social order, and criminals. They are the agents of counterrevolution.

Dear comrades, the Mozambican people have been the protagonists of a process of [word indistinct] transformations. Such transformations affect the values, behaviors, and models of social, political, and economic life. after the typically colonialist social order came a time when the colonial bourgeoisie attempted to prepare the ground for the growth of a neocolonial society. The values of the traditional society were confronted by forms both of preservation and of resistance to the assimilation policy imposed by foreign domination. The ideological base of our revolution was shaped in the liberated areas and in the dialectic of the armed struggle of national liberation. A new culture and a new ethic were developed.

National independence has provoked a tumultuous clash of all these experiences. The Mozambique graduates who expected to replace the settlers in the leadership of society saw their designs being frustrated by the national democratic revolution. They lost their last hopes when the phase of popular democracy and the building of socialism was brought about.

The traditionalists and the feudalists, who expected independence to reinstate tribal power and sanction their right to exploit land and men, today feel that they have been replaced by grassroots democratic structures. The colonial bourgeoisie, who lost power with the advent of independence lost with it the possibility of continuing their life of opulence and privilege made possible by the exploitation of the people. In our country the bourgeoisie saw their enterprises and interests tempered and limited by the moral measures taken by socialists of our state.

The development of this class confrontation has led to the sharpening of the ideological conflict in Mozambique society. The apartheid regime is, as we have seen, the executor of the imperialist plan of political and ideological subversion of our society. In its campaign against popular power it tries to build a possible social foothold in our country by influencing those sectors which have seen their privileges and expectations frustrated by the revolution.

Reactionary elements, who are being instigated by the South African regime and who have developed through collaborationism and the tendency to imitate and be subservient, have become the orphans of colonialism. FOR them, the experience of the armed struggle of national liberation is irrelevant. The revolutionary achievements and the revival of our national dignity are regarded as scornful. As in other historical periods, such enemies of the Mozambique nation make use of tribalism, regionalism, and racism as weapons against national unity. They are the ones who analyze the appointments to certain posts in terms of tribal or ethnic representation. They are the ones who promote the assessment of economic development plans from a regionalist viewpoint. They do not want to see buildings in their villages.

Thus, the enemy tries to create a gap between the party and the people, between the leaderhsip and the base. Meanwhile, the enemy tries to impose upon our society values that have been inspired by foreign models. In their language, tastes, and opinions they project a capitalist society tuned into a consumer metropolis which is submissive to cultural imperialism.

After independence, the implementation of the structures of popular power, the revolutionary achievements, and the struggle against racist aggressions were factors that strengthened national unity. Among ourselves there is the tendency to believe that in Mozambique society tribalism, regionalism, and racism have definitively been eradicated. This overconfident tendency can only result in our disarming and demobilizing ourselves in the campaign to expose and fight the manifestations of divisionism that still exist in our society.

It is wrong to underestimate the marks colonialism has left on our social structure. These are characteristics that the internal enemy uses, today as in the past, as the main weapons of his campaign. The consolidation of national unity demands that the fight against tribalism, regionalism, and racism be a continuous task of our revolution and that it be the main mission of every Mozambican. [applause]

Enemy agents — traitors and deserters, criminals and outlaws, and antisocial elements — were the forces that imperialism tried to organize and activate against our revolution. Our state gave them the opportunity to transform themselves into conscientious and useful citizens through the system of reeducation centers. In 1979 we began the process of releasing inmates from the reeducation centers. We realize that the implementation of the reeducation policy is correct, despite the mistakes that have been made. It is based on an appreciation of the value of the human being and a belief in his capacity for self-transformation. These are the essential elements of the policy of our party. Thousands of Mozambicans whose personalities had been destroyed by colonialism have again assumed the status of free citizens. Today they are Mozambicans involved in national tasks.

A considerable number of citizens had compromised themselves in the repressive structures of colonialism and fascism. Their removal from national political life was necessary for the defense of our revolution. Thus, the state withdrew their political rights, and the party organized the people to exercise vigilance over them. Conditions were created which permitted them, through participation in national reconstruction, to integrate themselves into our society and regain the spirit of the Mozambique fatherland and respect for the values of our people.

The reeducation process to which they have been subjected culminated with the May-June 1982 meetings. During the meetings, an objective analysis of their behavior was made in order to free them and grant them the status of Mozambicans and compatriots. The vast majority proved to be ready for the great tasks of their fatherland — the defense of its sovereignty and national reconstruction. The People's Assembly, by a proposal of the Central Committee, approved the reinstatement of political rights to those who had compromised themselves under colonialism.

Today, by analyzing the period since the third congress, we realize that our party has established itself in a solid and irreversible manner throughout the country. The Frelimo Party has become the leading force of the state and society. Our party has led the people as a whole in the consolidation of independence, in the defense of sovereignty, in economic reconstruction, and in the creation of the foundation of a socialist society in Mozambique.

The experience gained in the building of the party during this period has shown that, in general, we have achieved greater successes whenever we have confronted reality and whenever we have taken into consideration the revolutionary experience of the people.

Together with the creation of cells, the party apparatus has been structured at various levels. However, we realize that the growth of the party apparatus has not kept pace with the growth of the party membership and its expanding geographic coverage. We have not been able to equip the party with enough qualified cadres at the Central Committee apparatus level and at the provincial, district, city, and local committee levels, so that they can permanently and effectively provide leadership, particularly for the grassroot structures.

It was necessary to guarantee control over the state, which is the essential instrument of class power and the main instrument for carrying out the building of socialism. As a result, the most important party cadres were given executive tasks in the different echelons of the state. [Words indistinct] at the Council of Ministers, provincial, and district local government levels, it was noticed that cadres were absorbed to the detriment of the party apparatus. The seventh session of the Central Committee analyzed this disequilibrium and its consequences and outlined measures that must be urgently applied.

The weakness of the party apparatus meant that in many cases the party cells had difficulty in clearly defining their tasks, provoking either the squandering of efforts on matters of a secondary nature or passiveness and inefficiency. Reactionary circles tried to take advantage of this situation in an attempt to demobilize the party members and to discredit the grassroot structures.

In 1977, after the third congress had been held, and in accordance with party guidelines, general elections were held for the first time in history, from Rovuma to Maputo. Through them, millions of Mozambicans elected the supreme body of state power — the People's Assembly. At the same time, the People's Assembly, at the national level, constitutes the implementation of the principle of popular sovereignty under the political leadership of our party. This principle was shaped in the liberated areas and in the bases and centers of Frelimo during the armed struggle for liberation. Such political leadership is the expression of the unity of power at the national level and in all areas of state leadership, and of the organization of society. Our republic can be proud of having a People's Assembly of national and international standing which evolved through a profound analysis and debate of the problems of the people.

Our experience, which is supported by the experiences of other peoples, shows that the class enemies are engaged in undermining production and services, with the aim of creating a climate of popular discontent. Their internal allies are black marketeers, thieves, and the undisciplined ones. They act inside and outside our structures. However, in our case, it is a question of choice. We have chosen the socialist system for the People's Republic of Mozambique. The enemy opposes this system. Who would be our enemy if we had chosen the capitalist system? [audience: "The people!"]

Thank you! [applause]

The exercise of power and the discouragement and punishment of criminals are essential and inalienable functions of the state. The guidelines from the state organs must be rigorously fulfilled. The state must be present everywhere with its authority and power. It must be present where the rules of conduct are violated. The exercise of power in all its aspects is an act of sovereignty which is visibly exercised without ambiguity. Our organs of power must responsibly exercise such duties, for on this the social stability and security of the citizens and the triumph of the revolution depend. The executive organs, together with the judicial organs, are responsible for guaranteeing the exercise of power. The fundamental elements involve the following sectors: 1) The Armed Forces; 2) The Ministry of Interior; 3) The security services of the popular state; 4) Justice. These are the four instruments of state power. Like the head of a hammer, they cannot be made of wood, but must be made of steel. Do you understand? [applause]

At every level such sectors must act in a strictly united way so that no room for maneuver is left for criminals. We are still far from achieving this goal. The uncoordinated functioning of such sectors creates gaps from which the criminal escapes. Such disorganization results in a power vacuum because the criminal and the saboteur are not promptly punished and used as examples.

At the local level — namely, at the district level — there has been a widespread tendency for certain sectors to act in an isolated manner. The members of these sectors act on behalf of their supreme territorial organ without being effectively under the control of the central organ. Such a situation can be accepted at the Armed Forces level, given the nature of their performance. Even here, it is necessary to guarantee the links with the respective territorial organs. The valuable experience we have already gained in the fight against the armed bandits encourages us to move forward on this path. Wherever the people are active, the bandits encourage us to move forward on this path. Wherever the people are active, the bandits disappear rapidly. [applause]

At the police, security, and justice level, it must be clearly understood that such structures operate under the rules outlined by the supreme structures for the structures under their control. However, in the implementation of such rules, the structures fall under the command of the representative of the state — that is, the local leader. Thus, a judge tries cases in accordance with the laws, and, though he acts independently, he is not outside the structures of local life and society; he is part of our power.

The aim of the enemy is to try to dominate the centers of economic decisionmaking and to exercise control over the supply, distribution, import and export networks. He also tries to take by storm the sector which handles foreign exchange as well as the economy's strategic centers of production, particularly the supply system. The aim of the enemy is to provoke famine and shortages of clothing and essential commodities at both the rural and urban levels. He acts to block the timely acquistion and distribution of essential factors of production which are required by the population or by the food industry. It was only in the last agricultural

campaign, for instance, that seeds reached the producers within the required time limits.

These actions are reflected in the inadequate distribution of tools, plows, and other means, and also in the lack of organization between traded goods and the requirements of the people and their habits and tastes. Apart from this, the enemy seeks to create artificial needs by introducing goods that are foreign to a specific area and which cost more and are hard to get.

Such activities of the class enemy call for an analysis of our own performance. Since the third congress it has been necessary to build, at the same time, the state apparatus for the exercise of power and the apparatus for the management of the economy. The need that has been imposed upon us — to take over the economic management of the country's economy in such a short period of time — has meant that we have had to occupy ourselves with regulating and controlling the economy. At the same time, we have had to deal with the management of large, medium-sized and small production and service enterprises in all sectors and branches of activity.

It is necessary to recall that, until independence, Mozambicans had practically no access to any level of management in all these sectors. It was patriotic awareness that led the workers and peasants to work energetically on the gigantic tasks of keeping our economy in operation. It was during this effort that the talents and capabilities of our people and their working class surfaced.

We salute them for those victories which they have achieved. They give ample evidence of their professional work ethic and the value of their honest and efficient labor. Congratulations. [applause]

Apart from this, there was a systematic effort to plan production with a view to guaranteeing the results which are indispensable for the satisfaction of essential requirements. Such an effort culminated with the Prospective Indicative Plan, which outlines the development strategy for the decade. An important aspect of the experience of the last 6 years is that thousands of workers learned the principles and the means of production planning, and they began to take an active part in it. However, it is necessary to strengthen the participation of both workers and production units in all stages of the planning process. This guarantees that every worker accepts the plans as such and that the plan is carried out based on the principles of a profound and direct knowledge of the true state of things. The enormous effort made in production planning has already enabled us to guarantee a new type of management for the economy and for our country's development. However, it has not yet been translated into the improvements which have been expected in the areas of production, particularly food production.

In 1977, in Nacala, we defined the district as the basic unit of production planning. This means that we must know the potentials, needs, and shortcomings at the district level. It also means that we must plan and strengthen the process of solving problems at the district level that can be solved locally. It means that we must resort to means available outside the districts whenever the problems cannot be solved with locally available means and forces. However, this has not happened.

Production planning has been based on ideas and objectives that we wanted to realize without conducting the necessary survey of the local conditions and the popular culture, habits, and traditions of the people. We have imposed production planning. It has failed. Inadvertently, production planning caused us not to allocate tasks to the people or to rely on their knowledge, so that, based on the people, we could gradually improve production. The method of production planning has placed the state in a position of having to solve every problem. By not planning the tasks at the basic local level, we could not have been aware of a district's needs. The people have been mobilized to increase production, but we did not correctly follow up on such measures by supplying them with the necessary tools.

The plan is necessary. It is an achievement. It must be expanded, based on the concrete knowledge of the reality of the people. Thus, the people will identify with the plan. The plan will then reflect our true capability and our means of fulfilling it. We will then correct the tendency to disregard productive knowledge and locally-available qualified labor, which constitute an immense reserve for production.

Planning must be centralized. The major paths of the country's development are outlined by the supreme organs of the party and the state. Strategic production and the new leading prospective programs have been considered in the state central plan. Its realization is based on the organization of available resources, so that the correct measure of high-level support is given to all local initiatives simultaneously. This means combining the great and small projects with local initiative. We must give considerable importance to small projects. Apart from this, we must closely follow the large-scale projects to continue with the political and organizational offensive. We must guarantee that the large sums allocated by the state will bear fruit.

The state apparatus must not concentrate its activities on the direct management of the production and service units. The state apparatus must undertake the task of guiding and supporting all productive sectors, namely, state, cooperative, family and private sectors.

The state apparatus that we have today in the economic sector and in the other sectors, is characterized by excessive development at the central level. At the provincial level, particularly at the district level, we still do not have cadres capable of following the guidelines and methodology that have been outlined at the highest levels.

The fourth congress must determine how to speed up the process of strengthening the district and provincial structures. The best cadres must join with other experts and assistants. We are certain that as the process evolves we will gain new cadres, we will form new cadres, and new experiences will be acquired. We will also develop a more profound knowledge of our country. The effort to redistribute responsibilities must mean that the district will be the basic unit of production planning, which means that the district will have to be able to assess its human and material capabilities and potentials. This means that the district will be able to plan its own production, the necessary means, and orga-

nize and control the network for the distribution of goods.

The allocation of responsibilities and means of production to state organs implies that state organs are responsible for the solution of a considerable number of local problems. The local organs have not assumed their responsibilities in mobilizing labor or the means to satisfy popular needs. In most cases they wait for orders and guidelines from the central structures.

The assistance given to the cooperative and family production sectors, namely, through the supply of draft animals, the strengthening of small-scale fishing, the production of bricks and lime, the manufacture of canned products, the production of domestic tools, pottery, small industries, and workshops, are projects which are within the range of local capabilities and means. The local organs must realize that they are responsibile for a specific territorial area and that they are accountable to the Frelimo Party and the population for the complete resolution of their respective problems.

The experiences we are going through show that we will make the principle of self-reliance viable and functional.

The debate on the theses for the fourth congress produced countless examples of how capable our people, our Frelimo front, and our party militants are, provided that their creative initiative is encouraged. To strengthen the local organs means to equip the districts with necessary instruments of leadership such as production planning and finance. The quality of the human element in the state apparatus determines the results of labor. To work for the state apparatus is a form of militancy in the fulfillment of the national objectives. The selection, qualification, and allocation of cadres must, first of all, be discussed within a political perspective of class.

By not systematically observing this principle, the infiltration of the state apparatus was permitted. The class nature of the petit bourgeois makes them try to belittle the objectives of our state and to discredit socialism. Many of them approach socialism with incompetence, ineptitude, and negligence. Their individual incompetence, ineptitude, and ignorance are interpreted as socialism's ineptitude in Africa. [applause] It is these antipatriotic people who try to impose options and paths that create popular discontent, while at the same time they wish to prove their own indispensability. They try to sway the state to their side by observing the formalities in the functioning of the state apparatus and by maintaining a formal relationship with the people, a harsh formalism. Such an attitude separates the leader from the masses and inhibits popular participation and creativity. With popular participation, the control and discipline departments have been blocking this class infiltration. It is necessary to encourage popular vigilance and to promote links with the control and discipline departments.

Dear delegates, comrades, based on the law on the judicial organization, and after widespread popular discussion, the people's courts were formed. By following the guidelines from the third congress the first people's tribunals at local and district levels were created in 1977. The principles and methods which govern the formation and functioning of such tribunals are the expression of our democratic popular power. Ten people's district tribunals and 535 people's local tribunals have been formed.

We must guarantee simplicity and the [word indistinct] of the judicial process, based on the rigorous search for the truth, and of the application of justice.

In the framework of the judicial organization, one cannot ignore the need to increase the technical qualifications of the elected judges. Judges are extremely important in promoting the dissemination of our law among the people, and they are the source for the formation of new judicial cadres. Such judicial improvements will strengthen our country's legal system. The stability of society, and the safety of the citizens, calls for the elimination of arbitrariness, which is fertile ground for abuse of power, prepotency, and, in a word, illegality.

Let us again raise the flag of revolutionary and social legality against those who hide behind our institutions. With the same vigor let us raise the flag of legality to protect the people from the crimes of those who massacre and murder the people in the countryside and of those who exploit and speculate against the people. Our justice will act with the most implacable vigor, and it will use all available legal instruments against the enemies of class, the class enemies, and the enemies of our state and of our economy. [aplause]

The need for a permanent instrument of inspection has become clear during the first political and organizational offensive campaign. Inspection enables us to avoid mistakes, to detect them on time, to rectify them, and to encourage penalties for violations. There are forms of inspection that have already been introduced. The main ones were the state inspectorate, control, and discipline departments, cargo information centers, sanitary inspection offices, price and distribution of goods control brigades, finance inspection offices, and production controls. We must study and learn the lessons from the experiences that we have already had in this field. We must structure the inspection system at all levels and sectors.

The offensive has showed us that the popular participation is a decisive element. It must be made law.

Comrade delegates, socialism can only be built with a strong army, which is capable of defending the people and their achievements from the enemies of the revolution. This is the common experience of the peoples who are bulding socialism. The revolutionary tradition of the Popular Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique [FPLM] is a long one. It was within the Mozambique Liberation Front that FPLM created village, local, district, and provincial committees. They were the ones who disseminated and materialized the political line. It was within it that the party embryo was conceived.

The first party committees were created within the FPLM. The first party school for the study of Marxism-Leninism was formed within the FPLM. The internationalist nature of our struggle was evident at a very early stage when the FPLM gave material and moral support to other national liberation movements.

After Frelimo assumed power, the FPLM knew how to undertake the responsibility of strengthening national independence and

soverignty, and of defending territorial intergrity.

During the arduous period of the transitional government the FPLM was the guarantor of the success of the implementation of popular power. It assured the realization of the nationalization policy, and FPLM members were the direct representatives of the revolutionary power in various parts of our country.

In view of the tasks they had undertaken, the FPLM established itself as the nucleus of what today is the force of defense and security as a whole. The achievement of independence and particularly the proclamation of the Marxist-Leninist nature of the Mozambican Revolution, and the creation of the party made our country a target of imperialism. Our experience tells us that whenever our revolution moves forward the enemy equips itself with even more modern means and uses sophisticated techniques of destruction. In order to face this situation it was necessary to specialize, develop, and modernize the FPLM.

The appeal made to the international community in 1977, which was the object of a UN Security Council resolution, was only welcomed by fraternal African countries who shared with us the few resources they had. It was also welcomed by other socialist countries who, once again, proved themselves as our natural allies through their concrete actions.

In view of the existing situation, and in accordance with the tasks outlined by the third conngress, the defense and security forces were converted into regular forces, each with different weapons and missions. As part of this gigantic effort to create the new defense and security forces, one must stress the important fraternal support received from friendly countries, particularly the frontline states and the socialist countries.

The glorious FPLM formed the basis for the new forces of the defense of the fatherland. The Armed Forces were formed as regular forces, and they were qualified from a political, technical, and scientific viewpoint. By participating in the development of the broad popular movement for the defense of the fatherland, the Mozambique Armed Forces today have an important ability to neutralize enemy aggression wherever it comes from. [applause] Today, our Armed Forces consists of the Army, the Air Force, the anti-aircraft defense, the Navy, the border guard troops, and the institutions for military instruction. Each arm has its specific mission. Its war materiel [words indistinct].

A particularly important aspect of the development of the country's defense capability is the priority that has been given to the formation of cadres. The creation of the political and military preparation centers was and still is the expression of the materialization of such a priority. One of the guidelines of the Mozambique Armed Forces is still: study, combat, and production. The creation of schools and military training centers is the result of the experiences that have been accumulated in the present phase of the transformation of the society in the face of direct and indirect confrontaiton with the enemy. The school formed in Nampula answered the needs of training officers and NCO's for the regular structure of the Army.

The essential experience of Nachingwea [Frelimo training base in Tanzania] has started to be absorbed and broadened by the new political and military centers. Apart from the political and scientific preparation, the combat readiness of the soldiers is being strengthened, and their preparation for the present phase of the struggle is being carried out at such centers. Furthermore, within the framework of our Armed Forces, thousands of cadres and young soldiers have been sent to schools and military academies of socialist countries. The Mozambique Armed forces are the main element in the organization and the dynamic involvement of the people in the tasks of the defense of the fatherland and the revolution. They establish and organize the local forces which today already form an army of tens of thousands of Mozambicans who are ready to detect and energetically repulse the enemy, particularly the armed and the unarmed bandits, anywhere in the country. The creation of the provincial military commands marked a new phase in the response capability to the destabilization campaign being waged against our country. The Mozambique Armed Forces formed the huge national popular militia movement. With the creation of the local forces, and their operational mobility with the popular militia, began the materialization of Frelimo Party guidelines with the view to giving the people means of defending their power, their party, and their revolution.

A preoccupation of the Mozambique Armed Forces is to work with the people. Our forces have engaged themselves in productive tasks, including the political mobilization of the masses. The Armed Forces aided and evacuated the people in areas affected by natural disasters, and they mobilized and organized the people in the war zones. Our officers, NCO's, and soldiers worked with the people in the reconstruction of areas that had been devastated by the enemy, in the construction of new communal villages, and in other productive activities. In the framework of the general struggle for an increase in food production, the Mozambique Armed Forces, the FPLM, launched an extensive campaign to open farms and to make them self-sufficient.

Since the third congress, the Armed Forces have had to face continuous enemy aggression against our country. The regular Armed Forces showed a high degree of combat readiness in the struggle against the attacks by the Rhodesian Army. Battles like those at Mavonde and Mapai were decisive in breaking the spine, the boldness, the aggressiveness, and in revealing the cowardice of the Rhodesian regime of Ian Smith.

Apart from this, the Armed Forces conducted extensive operation in enemy territory. Internationalists, who had been selected from among the best fighters who volunteered themselves, covered themselves with glory in the sister land of Zimbabwe.

After the defeat of the Rhodesian regime, South Africa launched attacks against our country. These attacks were conducted by its regular forces, or by mercenary groups and armed bandits. Ememy action of this nature has forced the Mozambique Armed Forces to make further efforts to increase their combat capability and develop their organization. The Central Committee salutes the FPLM, their officers, the NCO's, and soldiers for their patriotism and heroism. The Central Committee particularly recalls our internationalists. It recalls Mavonde and Mapai. It recalls Ponta do Ouro. It recalls the battles in Gorongoza, Sitatonga, Garagua, and Machaze. It recalls the work recently done in Gaza, Inhambane, and Manica Provinces.

The transformation of the guerrilla army into a modern regular army was fulfilled in those battles. The transformation that has been achieved under such arduous circumstances had to overcome many obstacles. Thank you, children of the Mozambique people. Thank you, Mozambique people. [applause]

The problem of the training of military cadres is the dramatic education situation that was created by colonialism. It is necessary to stress the efforts made in the creation of a special institution for the technical and scientific education of veterans of the liberation struggle, as well as the efforts made in the upgrading of the literacy level of other cadres of the Armed Forces in the military primary schools.

From an organizational and logistical viewpoint the difficulties are also enormous. The shortage of cadres has been aggravated by the fast growth of the Armed Forces, and by the obvious problems of our economy. The struggle that the enemy has imposed upon us calls for strengthening of the defensive capability of the fatherland and the revolution. To strengthen our defensive capability means to improve and adapt our weaponry to the present conditions. It also means to develop and to improve our organizational capability. It means to improve the political and fighting preparation of our soldier, and equip him with the necessary skills to master the operational art and military science. During the next few years we will have to continue to give the best attention to the combat, technical, and political preparation of the Armed Forces because, unfortunately, imperialism does not want peace.

Among some members of the police there are tribalist, regionalist, and racist tendencies. Some let themselves be carried away by opportunism, individualism, and greed, thus making them vulnerable to seduction and bribery. The fight against these tendencies is permanent. We must send contingents of policemen to reeducations camps.

Due to organizational shortcomings and to a certain technology cult, the members of the colonial public security police remained in some sectors of our ranks until 1979. It was only last year that the process to remove them was completed.

The nature of the mistakes that were exposed during the legality offensive resulted in the redefinition of the political work within the police forces. In order to guarantee law and order and to defend the tranquility of the citizens, and to curb criminals and antisocial types, and to safeguard the lives, interest, and property of the people, our popular police must increase their political awareness. This requires strengthening the partisan structures, and political and ideological work within the grassroots structures. The relationship between the police and the people deserves the greatest attention. Its consolidation is obtainable by involving the people in preventive and repressive actions against crime and by the participation of the members of the popular police in productive, social, and cultural activities of the population. Such links with the people must be guaranteed in a permanent and creative manner through the party's grassroots structures and the mass democratic organizations.

In the technical and professional organization, priority must be given to areas with a high rate of crime, namely theft, black marketeering, homicide, and rape. The priorities of the people are the priorities of our police.

The popular police force must structure itself in accordance with the country's social and economic development and the resulting demands. It is important that our police forces know how to work together within the state apparatus, particularly regarding the development of ways to collaborate with other defense and security forces.

In 1980 the Ministry of Security was formed. The organization of the security services has gained popular support. A number of individuals volunteered, and they involved themselves in the tasks of supporting defense and security activities through vigilante groups

The National People's Security Services [SNASP] addressed the problems related to the country's economic development and to the citizens' standard of living. As in other sectors of our society the security sector has also been faced with the contradiction between the growing complexity of the tasks, the availability of resources, and the lack of qualified and experienced cadres. Such shortages were reflected in the campaign for the selection and admission of cadres, which did not comply with a rigorous class criteria.

In daily security and police work there has been a tendency to overrate technology, and this has resulted in some deviations in the style and methods of work. This factor has helped the enemy in its bid to infiltrate agents and to recruit members of the security sector. Despite these problems the security action has achieved important successes in the maintenance of social tranquility and in the consolidation of popular power. SNASP detected and neutralized Rhodesian and South African agents who had infiltrated into our country to carry out sabotage, murder, and other destabilizing activities.

A CIA espionage station was dismantled. Its operation had been kept secret because meticals had been changing hands. A number of attempts to sabotage economic targets were discovered and neutralized. There have been countless defeats of the subversive activities of the South African secret services, which operate through armed bandits and collaborators. Former Police for the Control of Foreigners and Defense of the State [PIDE] networks that the Portuguese had left in Mozambique were handed over to South Africa.

There are important tasks ahead to be faced within the framework of security. The strengthening of the security services means an increase in the capability to defend the revolution. Today, the SNASP operates at the national level, and in the face of an enemy who has highly advanced technical facilities it is necessary to be specialized and qualified and to have sophisticated equipment. However, the important thing is the political and ideological quality of the security cadres. SNASP members must have a clear class awareness, and they must intransigently defend the interests and achievements of the workers. The SNASP must be highly regarded by the people and feared by the enemies of the people.

The link between the SNASP and the masses is essential for the

success of popular vigilance. The mistakes and deviations that have been found within the defense and security forces were always the result of the incorrect relationship with the broad popular masses. The people understood that the abusive and illegal actions that had been directed at them were the result of infiltration. The trust enjoyed by the party among the citizens encouraged the people who had been harmed by such actions to warn the party leadership. The analysis of the facts from these reports allowed the Frelimo Party to launch the legality offensive. This measure was aimed at putting an end to those incorrect actions, purifying the ranks, and placing trustworthy police in command.

The offensive achieved remarkable successes. It strengthened the people's trust in the Party. It got the people interested in maintaining security, and it united them with their police. However, the legality offensive is permanent, and it has many objectives. It is an offensive that must teach the citizens to respect the Constitution and the law. It aims at making respect for law a natural and permanent attitude. One aim of the offensive is to encourage citizens to expose any legal or ethical violations, particularly by those who are supposed to guard the laws. The offensive is a permanent effort to educate soldiers, policemen, and security agents to respect the rights of the citizens. The class criteria and loyalty toward the fatherland and the socialist cause determine the admission and development of members of the Armed Forces, the security services, or the police. The training in the various centers, in training establishments of the Armed Forces, the security services, and the police must be in keeping with the need to overcome the low scientific and educational level of the majority of the candidates. It is important to preserve the desire to serve the working classes among the Armed Forces, the police, and the security services by means of a selective approach based on our class nature in order to promote the integration of members in the various arms.

The party pays particular and constant attention to the political work done in the defense and security forces. The party leads in strengthening the partisan structures in the areas of defense, security, and in the Ministry of Interior, and guarantees their regular functioning.

The party defense and security department has an active role to play in the implementation of our criteria for the selection and training of cadres.

The activities of the party and of the people's assemblies are aimed at giving prestige to compulsory military service and at transforming it into a great opportunity for the patriotic development of our youth, their coming of age, and full citizenship. It is necessary for the party and the people's assemblies to pay more attention to compulsory military service. This requires two main courses of action: The first is aimed at educating the youth and the people in the cult of their heroes, and in the respect of their Armed Forces, and at developing ties between the Armed Forces and the children, the adolescents, the youngsters, the schools, the students, and the apprentices.

The second course of action is to improve the recruitment system for compulsory military service so that it is possible to guarantee efficiency and devotion and to eliminate arbitrariness and the inconvenience caused by improvisation, which are as damaging as they are incapacitating.

Our successes are mainly based on the creation and development of a broad mass movement for the defense and security of the socialist fatherland. We have vigilant groups, hundreds of thousands of militamen who, as part of the People's Militia, cover our entire country. The recent experience shows that, at the basic level, defense and vigilance amount to a unique and great task: the defense of the community's lives and assets. The protection of factories and other economic units, the pursuit of the campaign to prevent enemy activities, and the struggle against the bandits, as well as the emergency aid during natural disasters and fires, are part of the same task.

The vigilant groups must be progressively integrated into the People's Militia so that it can become an important force for the annihilation of the enemy. By eliminating the infiltration of organizations, the militia will thus transform itself through the support it gives to the Army, security forces, and the police, according to the areas of operation and the nature of the task, as well as its importance.

This calls for a greater effort among the leadership, the development of leading personnel among the militiamen, and the training of volunteers for the various specific tasks.

The local forces that have been recently formed have created favorable conditions for the organization of the National Defense and Reconstruction Service. Every year, the National Defense and Reconstruction Service will incorporate youths of both sexes who are ready for military service. Once the training service has been completed, they will provide the regular forces with personnel, while other personnel will at the same time engage in the reconstruction of the fatherland. Those who are discharged will have a higher degree of knowledge.

The literacy campaign among the youth must be waged during military service and service rendered to the National Defense and Reconstruction Service. Young people who have a reasonable school education, and who have been incorporated in compulsory military service, must be regarded as a shock force against illiteracy among the recruits, soldiers, and the people as a whole. We must create relevant organs in the department of defense and security of the party's Central Committee, and in the Ministries of National Defense, Interior, and Security to lead and coordinate efforts regarding the People's Militia, the National Defense and Reconstruction Service, and the participation of the people in the defense of the fatherland and revolutionary vigilance.

By being united and organized, the Mozambique people are like an insurmountable wall to the racists, colonialists, and exploiters.

Dear delegates, the organization of the people as part of the democratic structure, which resulted in Mozambican citizens coming together to discuss our problems, was significant to the country's development after the third congress. By bringing together the diversity of the social, professional, and cultural interests in a broad front formed by forces united in the defense and consolidation of our independence and sovereignty, society has been able to converge the creative powers of its children in

national reconstruction.

Such an action was planned and led by the Frelimo Party at two levels. Through national meetings the party managed to correct situations that threatened to ignore sectors, such as former political prisoners and veterans of the struggle of national liberation and whose past showed their dedication to the cause of the fatherland and of the revolution. By encouraging the formation of associations of a democratic nature, the party strengthened the active participation of citizens in national tasks. The initiative of the citizens was demonstrated in all areas, thus forming a place where political and patriotic conscience is shaped and strengthened, and where the party recruits new members.

Under the leadership of the Frelimo Party, the anti-imperialist patriotic front of the Mozambique nation has been widened.

The councils for production were born as a result of the implementation of the guidelines that had been given on 13 October 1976. At that time, some very important tasks for the working class were outlined, the most important of which was the organization of the working class into collective sectors in order to guarantee its active participation in the planning, management, and control of productive activities. It was only by organizing itself that the working class could efficiently fight the acts of sabotage carried out by the enemy, and its own indiscipline, incompetence, and ignorance.

In 1979 new guidelines were given. The syndicates inherited from colonialism were dismissed, and then, some of the administrative tasks that they still performed were transferred to the councils for production. The councils for production were tasked for socialist emulation and voluntary work. Their task was to promote and encourage the workers' inventive and innovative nature. The councils for production were the stimulators of the mobilization of the workers for the campaigns of socialist emulation. In the campaign to support this congress, the workers were totally responsible for the elaboration and control of additional plans for production. The workers also made important contributions in the increase in the country's defensive capability, in the assistance of victims of natural disasters, and in the support given to the soldiers. The councils for production played an active role in the strengthening of professional development and in the realization of programs to upgrade their own cadres.

The literacy campaigns carried out in strategic companies resulted in the launching of an effective war against illiteracy. It contributed to the increase of production and productivity, and it created better perspectives for the adequate development of other Mozambican cadres. The councils for production have been carrying out educational tasks within the framework of protection, hygiene, and work safety.

However, the important successes that have been achieved must not make us ignore the mistakes that have been made during this experience. At various cadre levels in the councils for production there is the tendency toward bureaucratization and administrative solutions of problems. Such deviations are more evident at the grassroots level, when the councils for production keep themselves busy mainly with the administrative problems of the production units, or when they resort to bureaucratic methods. The fight against such tendencies, which are found in the organization itself, must be intensified at various levels with the participation of all workers.

Liberalism and populism are other examples of inadequate attitudes that have been noticed on some occasions. This can be seen in the way the interests of the workers are disregarded.

The profound understanding of the workers' problems and the actions necessary to defend their interests must stress their attitude toward ardous work and the need for a new attitude toward work. Liberalism and populism have led some to resist following this ardous path, which is the only one that can guarantee that the working class is the leading force of the revolution. Populists use demagogy to try to generalize the emulation criteria. They aim to eliminate the revoultionary meaning of work and do away with the prestige and respect deserved by the workers. They also try to find an easy way to win personal popularity in order to acquire immediate and particular benefits.

The work heroes — the highest symbol of the vanguard workers — are the undisputed example to be followed. They are the ones who, in view of their courage, determination, and patriotism, give us the live image of the man of tomorrow. They are the ones who know how to accept labor as a way to transform and develop the new man. The work heroes are the ones who make their aspirations the aspirations of society as a whole, and they strengthen us with their example. The existence of work heroes and their national recognition determine the level of organization and of the growth of the political and professional awareness of the Mozambique working class.

The fourth national meeting of the councils for production analyzed the progress that has been made and realized that conditions are right for moving to a higher stage of organization. Thus, the Central Committee, confident of the unshakable strength of the workers who are organized and led by the Frelimo Party, proposes to the fourth congress the creation of socialist syndicates in the People's Republic of Mozambique.[applause] Workers of the world, unite. The Central Committee also proposes that the meeting to organize the syndicates be held before the end of the year.

The syndicates will be responsible for the organization of the working class, and the workers in general, on the production front. Political awareness will be shaped through the workers' direct participation in syndicate activities. By participating, they will take part in the tasks of economic and social development by intervening in the elaboration, execution, and control of the plans of production. The socialist syndicates will organize labor, practice discipline, promote the increase of productivity, and encourage the spirit of creativity and innovation. Our syndicates will have to mobilize the workers to give special attention to the industrial sectors linked to food production or agriculture. Each syndicate will need a plan which clearly provides for the participation of their members in the fight against famine and in support of national defense. At the workplace the syndicate will take an active role in the elimination of capitalist relations of production and substitute the development of socialist relations of production in their place.

The syndicates will have an important role to play in the development of workers, in the improvement of their work and living standards, in the organization of social security, in the defense of labor legality and justice, and in the improvement of standards of hygiene and protection. The syndicates will promote initiatives aimed at the continued strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance and at the development of relations with the Organization of Mozambique Women [OMM] and the Mozambique Youth Organization, with the view to supporting the emancipation of women and the political, technical, and cultural development of young people.

On the international level, the syndicates will establish solidarity relations with all peace-loving peoples in the light of the principles of proletarian internationalism. They will develop a systematic campaign to expose all forms of discrimination and exploitation, and they will support the peoples' just aspirations for freedom. When representing the Mozambique working class and its workers in general, the syndicates will undertake the heavy responsibility of defending the prestige of the revolution and of the country.

Comrade delegates, the emancipation of the Mozambique woman as defined by the party has not yet been brought about, and it continues to be the main objective of the OMM. The woman, in view of the place she occupies in the family structure, is the main teacher of the new generations. The permanent task of the OMM is to promote the political, scientific, physical, and cultural education of the woman. Her education must equally take into account particular aspects of the social role she plays. The Mozambique woman has a glorious history in the defense of the fatherland. Defense and vigilance, the tasks of revolution, are sectors in which the woman must be actively committed. The strengthening of the role of the woman continues to be a priority objective. The OMM mobilizes the woman to give priority to food production. It is the task of the OMM to activate small projects capable of immediately solving a number of problems.

The in-depth understanding of Mozambique society is particulary important in formulating a correct and effective strategy in the struggle for the emancipation of the Mozambique woman. It is important that an extraordinary conference be held soon dedicated specifically to the social problems of the Mozambique woman and the ways in which these problems manifest themselves throughout the country.

Dear delegates, comrade participants, the People's Republic of Mozambique is a nonaligned and socialist African country. The foreign policy of the Frelimo Party comes within the framework of the common efforts of the African people to gain and consolidate their independence and African unity. We understand the general struggle of peoples as being essentially anti-imperialist. Our country's participation in the OAU and in the Nonaligned Movement stems mainly from the firm conviction that these organizations constitute instruments for the emancipation of peoples and the strengthening of the worldwide anti-imperialist front. Our party, Frelimo, is constantly deepening its relations with Marxist-Leninist parties from other socialist countries, with workers parties and the democratic forces from capitalist countries, and with the national liberation movements. The existence of the Peole's Republic of Mozambique and the advancement of our revolution constitute a constribution by our party and our people to the expansion and the strengthening of the socialist camp.

The Frelimo Party is steadfastly following a policy of international peace and security, essential conditions for the development and progress of all peoples. Friendship among peoples and cooperation between states are the aspirations of all mankind. Our party resolutely defends efforts to achieve these aspirations. In this context, the People's Republic of Mozambique establishes relations with all countries on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference in one another's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit, and the peaceful solution of conflicts. Just as important, our party promotes the broadest participation of our government in the United Nations, a basic instrument for the establishment of a climate of understanding, peace, cooperation, equality, and justice in international relations.

The great efforts by our party and government in the struggle for peace, democracy, and economic and social progress are being undertaken against the backdrop of a complex international situation, a situation characterized by a dangerous increase in imperialist belligerence. The period since the third congress has seen major events which contributed significantly toward the weakening of imperialist forces: The fall of Shah Reza Pahlavi in Iran, the consolidation of progressive power in Afghanistan, the fall of the bloody and genocidal dictatorial regimes of Pol Pot in Kampuchea and Idi Amin in Uganda, the consolidation of the Ethiopian revolution, the admission of the SDAR to the OAU, and the advance of the people's struggle in the Sahara are only some of the more recent examples of these events. We thank the peoples for their struggle. [applause]

The rise to power of revolutionary forces in Grenada, the popular victory of the Sandinist Front in Nicaragua, and the violent reappearance of the people's struggle in El Salvador have contributed to a change in the balance of forces in Central America and forced the retreat and dispersion of imperialist forces which had concentrated there exclusively against Cuba. Our steadfast struggle, together with other parties, progressive forces, and peace-loving people, against colonialism, racism, neocolonialism, and imperialism has registered victories which subsequently reinforced the worldwide anti-imperialist front. For us, the most significant victory took place in Zimbabwe, where the people, following a hard and difficult armed struggle, won independence and established their sovereignty and dignity.

When we held the third congress, our country was the victim of open aggression by the racist regime of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. This action was aimed at destabilizing our Republic and dissuading us from continuing to support the armed struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. By carrying out acts of aggression against us, the Rhodesian regime intended to put pressure on us so that we would lift the economic sanctions which, in keeping with the resolutions of the international community, we were applying rigorosly. The Frelimo Party, loyal to the international tradition of our revolution, mobilized the people from Rovuma to Maputo to confront racist aggression, and at the same time it intensified its militant support for the struggle of the Zimbabwean people.

We did this as Africans, as members of the OAU, and as members of the international community. We did this as a Marxist-Leninist party, assuming our responsibilities as a strategic rearguard in Zimbabwe's struggle. The enemy, under pressure from the Partriotic Front, the frontline states, and progressive forces, was repeatedly forced to adapt his tactics to the new conditions which were imposed upon him.

The material support that we received from the international community during this time was but small compensation for our losses. However, the sacrifices made by our people during this difficult phase of struggle were broadly compensated for by the joy of victory when the ZANU-PF unquestionably won the elections under the leadership of our comrade and beloved honorary citizen, Robert Gabriel Mugabe, who became the prime minister of independent Zimbabwe. He was with us during the third congress as the leader of the guerrilla movement which fought for the liberation of the country. Now he is with us again, but as a prominent statesman and undisputed leader of Zimbabwe, a country which he wisely leads along the path of progress and prosperity. Thank you, my brother, Robert Mugabe. [applause]

Long live independent Zimbabwe.

[Crowd shouts: "Long live!"]

Long live the Republic of Zimbabwe.

[Crowd shouts: "Long live!"]

The triumph of the fraternal people of Zimbabwe constituted a great victory. It destroyed a racist and belligerent regime in the region, and it expanded the borders of peace, liberty, progress, and cooperation. The independence of Zimbabwe made the Limpopo River the last frontier dividing independent Africa and the country of apartheid. For the first time, the Pretoria regime found itself surrounded by independent countries and not bantustans. [applause] Its plan to use economic hegemony over the region is destined to fail. To the policy of a constellation of states, the independent countries of the region answered with the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, the SADCC, which gathered international support and showed itself to be an effective and functional instrument.

The bantustanization of the South African people has only obtained the support of some discredited puppets, and it cannot achieve any international recognition.

The South African people, under the leadership of the ANC, are intensifying their struggle, galvanized by the increasing awareness of their own strength and encouraged by the victorious struggles of the neighboring countries over the colonial and racist regimes. The struggles against the minority regime is extending to all corners of the country from the major cities to the bantustans. It is extending to all fields of activity, from factories to schools, and it is involving more new members of the society — Indians, coloreds, and whites.

The conflicts in the midst of the Boer power are intensifying each day, and the number of dissidents is growing. The apartheid regime, which had considered itself to be monolithic and powerful, now shows signs of uncertainty over its own ability to solve the problems which the inevitable progress of humanity imposes upon it.

The first manifestation of panic among its leaders is demonstrated by the public stands taken by its most extreme and belligerent elements. The South African regime tries to gain credibility and be regarded as the champion of capitalism in Africa. It tries to transform the defense of the privileges of the racists into a campaign against what it calls communist penetration in the region. Its destabilization strategy has been stepped up.

Its line of action is well defined. It is carrying out a broad campaign of propaganda and international disinformation aimed at confusing public opinion in Western countries and at discrediting independent Africa, particularly the SADCC countries. It is carrying out an intensive propaganda campaign directed at specific sectors of the population of independent countries of the region. South Africa tries to instill regressive cultural models, as well as regressive standards, behavior, and values. Its objective is to alienate its citizens from its national reality, undermine unity, and weaken the patriotic spirit. That country wages a systematic campaign of economic pressure and even economic sabotage against neighboring countries, taking advantage of the economic dependence we have inherited from colonialism. It periodically carries out direct military actions with the aim of attacking specific strategic targets and maintaining tension in the region.

The invasion and occupation of Angolan territory is of particularly significance and concern. The 1981 invasion was a serious step in the escalation of South African attacks. With this invasion the Pretoria regime tried to test the reaction of the international community to its general plans of aggression throughout the region. The occupation by the racist South African regime of a part of Angola is an offensive and criminal act against the dignity of all Africa. It is a threat to the independence of our continent and to world peace.

The Frelimo Party repudiates this ignoble act and expresses the most profound solidarity of the Mozambican people with the heroic fraternal people of Angola. [applause]

The Pretoria regime recruits, organizes, and leads groups of bandits and mercenaries through which it wages an undeclared war. This action is aimed at creating a climate of social and political instability. It is aimed at preventing the organization of social and economic life in neighboring countries. It is aimed at destroying the infrastructures and projects which are part of the framework of the regional cooperation. The victory of the people of Zimbabwe was a contribution toward the development of economic cooperation of the independent countries of the region.

The Frelimo Party has analyzed and understood the importance of the plan of regional cooperation. The People's Republic of Mozambique readily and enthusiastically answered the proposal made by the late President Seretse Khama.

In Lusaka, Zambia, in 1980, the independent countries of the

region set up the SADCC. The nucleus of the project of economic and regional cooperation finds its solid roots in the unparalleled experience of the unity of action of the frontline states. The SADCC, by the clarity and seriousness of its objectives, is able to promote the interests and the participation of a number of countries and international financial organizations. The priority given to the sectors of transportation and commmunications has proved to be a correct decision.

The Frelimo Party is satisfied with the work being carried out by Mozambique's side and its way of directing and promoting cooperation at the level of the Southern African Transport and Communications Commission. [applause]

The effectiveness of the plan of regional cooperation can be seen in the fact that the main targets of military actions and acts of sabotage by Pretoria are economic projects which are regionally important.

In the course of the struggle of peoples of Southern Africa for their liberty and independence, the struggle of the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, has made important progress.

South Africa continues to develop maneuvers aimed at undermining UN Resolution 435. By delaying the arrival of independence for Namibia, the regime intends to gain time to find a neocolonial alternative that will ensure the perpetuation of the exploitation of the Namibian people. The so-called internal solution using puppet groups has failed. With the support of Western powers, the South African colonialist regime has raised the issue of linking the independence of Namibia with the presence of the internationalist Cuban troops in Angola. The Frelimo Party indignantly rejects this attempt at blackmail. The sovereignty of a people cannot be used to bargain for the independence of another people. Our party takes an active part in the efforts aimed at finding an immediate and just solution to the Namibian question. We give our political, material, and diplomatic support to the Namibian people through SWAPO, their sole and legitimate representative. [applause]

Comrades, apart from the transformations which took place in our region, other equallly important transformations took place in the countries of the Indian Ocean, namely in Madagascar, the Seychelles, and Mauritius. These transformations are an area of concern for imperialism and an obstacle to its strategy to militarize the Indian Ocean. That is why the South African regime spares no efforts and means to destabilize these countries. South Africa organized mercenary groups which attacked the Comoro Islands and the Seychelles.

The threat of nuclear conflict has become a permanent one. By raising the specter of the so-called communist threat and claiming the need to protect vital routes and areas where strategic resources are found, imperialism is continually strengthening its military power. This fact poses a grave danger to international peace and stability and threatens the independence and sovereigny of states. The Middle East, Asia, Latin America, and southern Africa are hotbeds of bloody confrontation. The Indian Ocean and the Gulf area have been transformed into even more militarized regions where war and destruction are daily events.

We are concerned over the intentions of some NATO countries which want to install new medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe in 1983. If this happens, it will undermine the favorable atmosphere that is currently developing. In order to create a favorable psychological climate, imperialism has fomented local crises in Europe by aggravating tensions and intensifying the climate of cold war and instability on that continent.

The Frelimo Party defends the principles of general and universal disarmament, an end to the arms race, the elimination of hotbeds of tension and causes of war, and the dismantling of military bases in several regions of the world which constitute a threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states. All states, particularly nuclear powers, must constructively dedicate themselves to these goals.

Our party has been working to transform the Indian Ocean into a nuclear-free zone of peace. The proliferation of new bases and the modernization of existing ones like Diego Garcia constitute a threat to the countries of the region. The call to make the Indian Ocean a nuclear-free, peace zone is continually ignored. Our party applauds the proposals by President Didier Ratsiraka of Madagascar aimed at transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. It is important that all islands and countries in the region dedicate their efforts to securing the dismantling of existing military bases in the Indian Ocean and to ensuring that no new bases are installed.

International organizations, particularly the United Nations, the OAU, and the Nonaligned Movement, have seen their efforts frustrated by maneuvers aimed at neutralizing the international community's efforts to create a more just and fair economic and social order.

The OAU, the instrument of unity and cohesion among the African countries in their struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, and all other forms of domination, having been born out of the common experiences of colonialism, today faces its greatest crisis. Taking advantage of differences which it fostered within the OAU, and citing the admission of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic and the representation of the Republic of Chad as justification, imperialism launched an offensive aimed at destroying the organization. By sabotaging the functions of OAU organs, particularly the conference of the heads of state and government, the divisionist forces are trying to deprive sovereign African states of an important weapon in their struggle against domination and underdevelopment.

The Frelimo Party considers the OAU a great achievement of Africa. As long as there is racism and colonialism on the continent, the rationale for the creation of the OAU remains relevant. Our party will, therefore, continue to work toward strengthening African unity to preserve the existence of this continental organization.

The international bodies with a tradition of struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, and racism have been the target of imperialism's strategy of blockade and frustration. In Havana and New Delhi we witnessed increased maneuvers to divide the Nonaligned Movement and to poison the purity of its principles

by voiding its anticolonialist and anti-imperialist stance and by presenting nonalignment as a policy of neutrality and the maintenance of an equal distance between the big power blocs. The members of the movement have prevented the success of these maneuvers, and the movement has been broadening its ranks.

The Frelimo Party defends the principles and aims of nonalignment and defends the strengthening of its dynamic role in the struggle against colonialism, imperialism, racism, apartheid, and Zionism to achieve peace, progress, and the development of peoples. As recognition of our dedication to and firmness in the pursuit of the policy of nonalignment, an extraordinary ministerial meeting of the Nonaligned Bureau was held in our country and was dedicated exclusively to analyzing the situation in Southern Africa. Its final document contains effective and relevant measures for rendering political, material, and moral support to national liberation movements and the frontline states.

The people have always placed their trust in the United Nations as an instrument for maintaining international peace and security, for fighting domination, and for securing progress and peaceful collaboration among nations. Our efforts are aimed at strengthening the United Nations as an active, dynamic, and unwavering instrument in the pursuit of the principles and aims which guide it.

The overall difficult situation facing us is compounded by the effects developing countries are feeling from the current crisis on the international level.

The gravest factors affecting our countries are imported inflation, protectionist measures, deterioriation in the terms of trade, and the aggravation of interest rates. This situation has become even more dramatic as a result of food shortages and the broadening of technological and scientific dependence. Imperialist powers are adopting coercive economic measures to obtain political gains with increasing frequency. Thus, developing countries are subjected to pressure by international financial institutions. The economic measures imposed on them are ruinous to the interests of their people.

The present international economic order is characterized by flagrant injustices which create ties of domination. This situation brings heightened political awareness to countries which suffer the greatest damage. In international organizations, an anti-imperialist feeling is being promoted, and the will to find alternatives to the current situation is being consolidated. In the developing countries, the conviction is growing that only socialism can bring total independence and economic and social progress, which in turn lead to justice, liberty, and well-being.

The countries of the socialist community, despite the massive propaganda campaign launched by the leading news media of imperialism, will continue to be regarded by the people of the developing countries as natural allies in this struggle for survival. [applause] This situation worries imperialism. Its basic plan is to undermine the unity of the organizations whose goal is to bring together countries with developing economies. It is in this context that we witness a systematic disruption of global negotiations by developed capitalist countries.

The conclusion of the Convention on the Law of the Sea, however, consitutes a positive step in the creation of a new international economic order. The Frelimo Party supports all countries with developing economies which promote concerted actions to uproot the injustice and inequality that characterize international economic relations. In this context, we support the constant efforts of the Group of 77 and the Nonaligned Movement.

Our party takes part in the efforts aimed at strengthening cooperation among developing countries. The increasing integration of the nonindustrialized socialist countries into the socialist economic community and the strengthening of relations between developing countries and developed socialist countries allow a new type of international economic relations.

The Frelimo Party hails the new shift in the balance of forces which is taking place in Western Europe. The coming to power of socialist parties in France, Greece, and Spain as well as the return to power of the Social Democratic Party in Sweden have created conditions for a new kind of economic relationship and cooperation with developing countries.

Comrades and delegates, the Frelimo Party has defined the principles that must guide the Mozambique state in its international policy. These principles are: respect for independence and national sovereignty, equality among states, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit from bilateral relations. The People's Republic of Mozambique has intransigently defended these principles in its relations of cooperation with other states. The application of these principles is aimed at strengthening the ties of friendship and solidarity with other African countries, other socialist countries, democratic and progressive forces, and the people of all continents who love peace, justice, and social progress. The Frelimo Party and the Mozambique state continue to support the just struggle of the people against imperialism and colonialism. Militant internationalism is a duty which our people have assumed willingly and with dignity. The unwavering practice of internationalism by the Mozambique working classes deserves the sympathy and solidarity of the people of the entire world.

In the context of the African Continent, we would point to the visits by presidential, party, and state delegations to Tanzania, Zimbabwe, and Algeria. During these visits, we signed important agreements in various fields at the party and government level. We also had official and friendly visits to the Seychelles, Nigeria, Swaziland, Botswana, and Libya. A presidential delegation conveyed a message of friendship and solidarity from the Mozambique people to the Malagasy people by taking part in the commemoration of the fifth anniversary of the revolution in that friendly country.

The Mozambique people had the honor and joy of welcoming the beloved late brother, President Antonio Agostinho Neto. Together we fought for freedom and independence in a common struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Our people regarded him with heartfelt respect and love as a son of the glorious Mozambique nation. Comrade Antonio Agostinho Neto will always remain in the hearts of the Mozambique people. [applause] Thank you. The treaty of friendship and cooperation which we signed with the People's Republic of Angola cemented

the friendship between our fraternal peoples.

We recall with deep emotion the friend of the Mozambique people, the late President Seretse Khama, who was a great promoter of regional development. President Seretse Khama was an untiring fighter for the creation of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference. His relevant action to promote the economic liberation of our region will always be recalled in our memories. [applause] Thank you.

The official visit to our country by Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe as the prime minister of an independent Zimbabwe was infused by our people with the friendly warmth which united us in the struggle against oppression and humiliation. Today, our peoples, parties, and states are strengthening their relations of solidarity by consolidating their hard-won freedom.

We also stress the visits made to our country by President Sassou-Nguesso of the People's Republic of the Congo; President Aristides Pereira of the Republic of Cape Verde; President Manuel Pinto da Costa of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe; President Chadli Bendjedid of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria; and President Canaan Banana of the Republic of Zimbabwe. We were also visited by the presidents of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the Republic of Zaire, and the prime ministers of the Kingdom of Lesotho and the Kingdom of Swaziland.

The three summits involving the heads of state of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique assume particular importance. The relations of friendship and solidarity forged during the liberation struggle have been consolidated, and cohesion and unity have been strengthened. The summits were a clear demonstration of the common desire to continue our unity in the anticolonialist and anti- imperialist struggle and to intensify cooperation between our peoples, parties and states. In this context, it was with immense satisfaction that the capital of our country hosted the meeting of reconciliation between the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the Republic of Cape Verde. [applause]

We have also been promoting our relations with most of the other African countries. The Frelimo Party considers the Mozambique state to have diplomatic relations with all OAU member states, although we do not yet have formal relations with some. Cooperation with other socialist countries, based on ideological similarities and proletarian internationalism, constitutes a priority in our foreign policy of cooperation. The examples of militant solidarity that the Mozambique people share with other socialist countries are countless. The fraternal support and broad exchange of experience which have characterized our relations have strengthened the cause of socialism and peace.

Accordingly, the presidential, party, and state visits to European, Asian, and Central American countries have been of great importance. The people of the brother countries welcomed us with particular warmth and fraternity. The solidarity demonstrated to our people, party, and government, a continuation of the same solidarity they extended to us during the national liberation struggle, was confirmed by the signing of many agreements at the party and government levels.

We visited the USSR, GDR, Cuba, Bulgaria, China, DPRK, Romania, Mongolia, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Our people also welcomed with fraternal hospitality eminent leaders of socialist countries; the late Comrade Nikolay Podgornyy, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz; Todor Zhivkov; Erich Honecker; Nicolae Ceausescu; Pal Losonczi. They were eyewitnesses to the indisputable friendship that exists between the Mozambique people and the peoples of those fraternal countries. The treaties of friendship and cooperation signed with the USSR, Cuba, Bulgaria, GDR, Romania, and the DPRK reflect the scope of our cooperation and friendship. Under the leadership and dynamism of our Marxist-Leninist parties, we have promoted ideological, economic, technical, scientific, and cultural cooperation between our socialist states.

In this period we maintained traditional fraternal relations of cooperation with the PRC, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and the Lao People's Democratic Republic. It is with satisfaction that we note the further promotion of these relations and the strengthening of the already-existing friendship between our parties, people, and governments.

The presidential visits made to Nicaragua, Grenada, Jamaica, and Guyana enabled us to build bridges of friendship which will always link the Mozambique people to the peoples of those countries, to whom we reaffirm our solidarity in the struggle against the attacks and threats of imperialism and reaction.

A high-ranking state delegation visited Iraq and India. These visits resulted in important progress in our relations with those Asian countries. We recall with particular emphasis the official visit to our country made by the prime minister of India, Mrs Indira Gandhi.

In the period between 1977 and 1982, the Frelimo Party witnessed the growth of its relations with Marxist-Leninist parties. Delegations from the French, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Chilean, and Brazilian communist parties, as well as from the Chilean Socialist Party, visited our country and held fruitful talks with our party. High-ranking delegations from the Portuguese and French socialist parties, the Brazilian Labor Party, the Social Democratic Party of Sweden, and the Socialist International came on official visits to our country at the invitation of the Frelimo Party. We had the opportunity to exchange opinions and reaffirm positions in the context of the common struggle of our peoples for international peace and security.

The ties existing between us and the Nordic countries deserve special mention. Our cooperation at the government level with Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Norway and the Netherlands, which date back to the national liberation struggle, have witnessed a remarkable growth. The support given by those countries to development projects in our country and those of the SADCC is substantial.

The visits by the President of Mozambique to Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark were an important landmark in strengthening the development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between our peoples and governments. We have

registered significant progress with Portugal. The visit to our country in 1981 by the president of the Portuguese Republic, General Antonio Ramalho Eanes, and the visit later in 1982 by the prime minister, Francisco Pinto Balsemao, contributed to the broadening of our cooperation.

Among the EEC countries, we have promoted our cooperation with Italy, France, and Great Britain. The high-ranking state visit in 1981 to the Italian Republic resulted in an increase in cooperation between our countries. We have recently registered encouraging progress with the FRG in the development of our cooperation.

After a period of difficulties, our bilateral relations with the United States now show a positive evolution. We have been frankly discussing the issues facing southern Africa and the state of relations between our two countries and developing bases for the normal development of bilateral cooperation.

Today, the People's Republic of Mozambique enjoys sympathy and prestige within the community of nations. As a result, there has been an increase in the number of states which have established diplomatic missions in our country. At the time of the third congress, the People's Republic of Mozambique had only two diplomatic missions abroad — at the United Nations and in the United Republic of Tanzania. During the same period, 53 chiefs of diplomatic missions and 5 representatives of international organizations were accredited to the People's Republic of Mozambique. Some 25 of them resided in Maputo. Today, there are 80 diplomatic representatives accredited to our country, and 52 of their chiefs of mission reside in Maputo. We have formal relations with more countries which have not as yet appointed their representatives to the People's Republic of Mozambique. The opening of embassies in Lisbon, Harare, Lusaka, Mbabane, and Moscow represent important developments in our diplomatic activity.

The Frelimo Party strives for democracy, equality, well-being, peace, and socialism. These are the objectives of our domestic policy; these are also the objectives of our foreign policy. Peace is the essential condition for development. It is only in peace that people can concentrate all their efforts toward progress and well-being. It is only in peace that people can make better common use of what they have and cooperate for their mutual interest.

That is why the People's Republic of Mozambique is for disarmament, detente, and peaceful coexistence. Our experience tells us that peace demands a tenacious fight, a fight which involves all people and which demands courage, determination, and sacrifice. Dialogue is also an important component of this fight: A dialogue which may lead to common understanding in the fight against racism, expansionism, aggression, and fascism.

We are united with all Marxist-Leninist parties and with the other socialist countries at the head of such a struggle. The Frelimo Party, which is guided by proletarian internationalism, will support liberation movements and other progressive forces which struggle for the eradication of colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, apartheid, Zionism, and oppression. We will dedicate our efforts to the defense of the unity and continuity of the OAU, an indispensable instrument in the struggle of the African peoples.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will defend and promote the principles and objectives of the Nonaligned Movement. It will systematically oppose the arms race and any attempts by imperialism to export counterrevolution. The People's Republic of Mozambique, together with other states, will continue to fight for the establishment of a new international economic order. It will take part in efforts to broaden and strengthen cooperation among underdeveloped countries in their search for ways to minimize the effects of the international crisis. The People's Republic of Mozambique, in the defense of its cultural heritage and of the right of all peoples to know the truth, will actively fight for a new international information order.

The Frelimo Party will promote unity between the Mozambique workers and the workers of the whole world in the fight for peace and socialism. The Frelimo Party will continue to fight for the development of international cooperation with all states, irrespective of their social and political regimes. The People's Republic of Mozambique will develop privileged relations with the socialist countries, the independent countries of southern Africa, and all progressive forces.